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Class B No. 2

ANUBANDHAS OF PĀṆINI

by

G. V. DEVASTHALI

UNIVERSITY OF POONA
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PREFACE

It is encouraging to find that the vital importance of Pāṇini's grammar for Vedic studies has again begun to be adequately realised in recent times. But one cannot utilise Pāṇini to the fullest possible extent unless one has thoroughly grasped and mastered the Pāṇinian system with all its peculiarities and technical devices. The *anubandhas* admittedly form one of the most important and the most intricate of all such devices. Therefore, in consultation with Prof. R. N. DANDEKAR, Director, C.A.S.S., I decided to work on them. Such work, it was felt, would be a great help both for the study of Pāṇini and of the Veda. The scheme of the present work has been explained toward the close of Part I and the signs used in the Indexes and the lists of suffixes have been explained in a special note.

I gratefully acknowledge that in my work on the *anubandhas*, I have derived ample benefit and inspiration from Otto BÖHTLINGK'S *Pāṇini's Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1887; Reprografischer Nachdruck, 1964).

I should like to express my thanks to Prof. DANDEKAR for the interest which he took in the preparation of this monograph. I have also to thank my two colleagues at the Centre — Dr. S. D. JOSHI for having gone through the manuscript and made valuable suggestions, and Shri M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM for having done a major part of proof-reading for me. The Spicer College Press deserve more than formal thanks for the speed and accuracy with which they have seen this work through press. Finally, I should like to request scholars to bring to my notice any inaccuracies that might have crept into this work and also make useful suggestions for its improvement.

University of Poona
August 4, 1967

G. V. Devasthali

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface iii

Table of Contents v

Abbreviations vii

A Note on the signs used in the Indexes and the lists of suffixes given in this work xi

Part I Introduction and General survey 1

Part II *Anubandhas* and their functions 48
(A detailed study)

Part III Indexes 165

- A. Index of *pratyayas* etc. together with their *anubandhas* as used by *Pāṇini* 166
- B. Index of *pratyayas* etc. used by *Pāṇini* without any *anubandhas* 193
- C. The Reverse Index 203

ABBREVIATIONS

A. AUTHORS AND WORKS

AV	*Atharvaveda*
Bh	Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita
COJ	Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. I.
DP *Dh P*	*Dhātupāṭha* (figures refer to class and root respectively)
DSG	Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar (Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR)
LSS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara*
Mādh. Dh. Vrtti.	*Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti*
N	Nāgeśa
P	Pāṇini
PA	Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. (Three figure references, when unspecified, are all to *PA*; and the fourth figure in these refers to the *Vārttika*)
Pat.	Patañjali
Pat. *MB.*	Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*
pbh	*paribhāṣā*
Pbh	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (of Nāgeśa, figures refers to *pbh*)
Pbh.S	*Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha* (Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR)
PM	*Prauḍhamanoramā*
RV.	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Siddhāntakaumudī*
SSC	*Svarasiddhāntacandrikā*

(Abbreviations are not used for other authors and works referred to in this work)

B. GRAMMATICAL TERMS

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
ād	*ādeśa*
āg	*āgama*
anud	*anudātta*
anun	*anunāsika*
Aor	Aorist
ārdh, *ārdha*	*ārdhadhātuka*
asārv, *asārva*	*asārvadhātuka*
ātm	*ātmanapada*
Bah. Vr.	*Bahuvrīhi*
Bened	Benedictive
cl	class
Cond	Conditional
cpd	Compound
dat	dative
Denom	Denominative
Desid	Desiderative
du	dual
f fem	feminine
Fut	Future
gen	genitive

Impf	Imperfect
Impv	Imperative
indec	indeclinable
instr	instrumental
Intens	Intensive
loc	locative
masc	masculine
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
obj	object
parasm	*parasmaipada*
Part	Participle
Pass	Passive
Peri	Periphrastic
Pers	Personal
Pf	Perfect
plr	plural
Pr	Present
Pot	Potential
prat	*pratyāhāra*
Prec	Precative
pron	pronoun
rfs	root-forming suffix
sam	*samāsānta*

saṁ	*saṁjñā*
sārv, sārva	*sārvadhātuka*
sg	singular
syll	syllable
strī	*strīpratyaya*
subj	subjunctive
tad	*taddhita*
uṇ	*uṇādi* (suffix)
uṇādi	*uṇādi sūtra*
vik	*vikaraṇa*
vyati. Bah. Vr.	*vyatihāralakṣaṇa Bah. Vr.*

A NOTE ON THE SIGNS USED IN THE INDEXES AND THE LISTS OF SUFFIXES GIVEN IN THIS WORK

As a general rule the suffixes are barytone (3.1.3) and hence by what is known as the *satiśiṣṭasvarabalīyastvanyāya*, a formation retains the acute of the suffix and loses all the other acutes. A *pit* suffix, however, is enclitie (3.1.4); and hence a formation in a *pit* suffix retains the acute of the base. In all other cases, the accentuation of the formation is indicated by several mute letters such as *k, c, t, ṅ, r, l,* etc. Accordingly the acute in the formation is (1) on the initial syllable (*ādi*), (2) on the final syllable of the base (*pratyayāt pūrvam*), (3) on the penultimate syllable (*upottamam*), or (4) on the final syllable (*anta*). The acute in the last two cases is indicated by the accent mark (') on the penultimate or the ultimate vowel (of the suffix) respectively. The circumflex is always on the final syllable only; and is, therefore, like the acute, shown by the mark (`) on the final vowel of the suffix. To show the acute in the remaining cases, two horizontal lines are printed just behind the suffix. The first line indicates the first syllable of the base and the second, the last one (corresponding to *ādi* and *pratyayāt pūrvam* of the whole formation), and the accent mark (') is printed on the one or the other as required.

The suffixes are generally appended after the base and hence the two horizontal lines (representing the base as a whole) are placed before the suffix. But in one case they are printed after the suffix to show that the suffix is to be prefixed to the base.

One more point to be noted concerns the modifications that the base undergoes under the influence of the suffix appended to it. As a general rule the final *i, u, ṛ* (short or long) and the penultimate short *i, u, ṛ* of a base take *guṇa* before *sārva,* and *ārdha.* Suffixes. This being a general rule is only taken for granted and hence *guṇa* is not indicated by any special device. But there are cases where this modification is prevented. This prevention (and hence absence) of *guṇa* in the base is indicated by the *minus* (—) sign printed over the horizontal line immediately preceding the suffix, (which is to be understood as representing the ultimate or the penultimate vowel as the case may be).

Some mute letters indicate the *vṛddhi* substitute for the first or the final vowel of the base. This modification is indicated here by the *plus* (+) sign printed on the corresponding horizontal lines before the suffix. Prevention or absence of this *vṛddhi* also has been indicated here by the *minus* (—) sign over the corresponding horizontal lines.

Finally, there are some suffixes which are altogether elided, but at the same time cause modifications in the bases which they are appended. Such suffixes are here represented by *zero* (0); while the accentuation of the formation as also the modifications in the base have been indicated according to the scheme as explained above.

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL SURVEY

I

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL SURVEY

1. The word *anubandha* has not been used by Pāṇini himself, though it cannot be gainsaid that the *anubandhas* have a very prominent role to play in the Pāṇinian system of Sanskrit Grammar. Derived from *anu* + √*bandh,* the word is self-explanatory and literally signifies 'what is attached to (a *pratyaya* etc.)'[1]. The word has been used by all ancient authorities on Sanskrit grammar coming after Pāṇini, right from Kātyāyana down to Nāgeśa, in a technical sense, for which P himself, however, appears to have consistently used the term *it*.

2. M. WILLIAMS (*Dictionary*) defines *anubandha* as an indicatory letter or syllable attached to roots, etc. (marking some peculiarity in their inflection e.g. an *i* attached to roots denotes the insertion of a nasal before their final consonant). The *Nyāyakośa* has explained the term as used in Sanskrit grammatical works in very apt but concise terms. *Anubandha* is a letter that is attached to a stem (*prakṛti*), termination (*pra-*

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[1] According to Prof. ABHYANKAR (*DSG*, p. 24) the term *anubandha* was chosen for mute significatory letters by ancient grammarians probably on account of the analogy of the *anubandhya paśu*, tied down at sacrifices to the post and subsequently slaughtered. The generally accepted derivation of the term *anubandha* is '*anu paścāt badhyata iti*'. Or on the analogy of *nāsikām anugataḥ anunāsikaḥ*, we may dissolve it as *bandham anugataḥ*. In either case, however, it has to be observed that *anu* (=*paścāt*) has no reference to the position occupied by the *anubandha*. Its significance is rather chronological. For the last derivation I am indebted to my friend and colleague at the CASS, Dr. S. D. JOSHI.

tyaya), augment (*āgama*) or a substitute (*ādeśa*) to indicate the occurrence of some special modifications such as *vikaraṇa*, *āgama*, *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, accent etc., but which, when the finished word (*pada*) is ready or formed, is no longer extant and is dropped in consonance with the designation *it* given to it[2]. From this definition or description it may be seen that an *anubandha* is the name given to a letter (or a group of letters) that is attached to *prakṛti*, *pratyaya*, etc. to indicate the occurrence of certain grammatical operations such as substitution by *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, their prevention, accentuation, etc. in the base to which they are applied, but is not allowed to form part of the word or the expression when fully formed. The *anubandhas* are, in fact, given the significant designation *it* (from √*i* to go) to lay down that it should be dropped (in the process of word formation[3]). Various, indeed, are the *anubandhas* and varied the functions that they are intended to serve. Nāgeśa has, on the authority of P and Patañjali, given us not less than eight or nine technical rules of interpretation (*paribhāṣā*) in connection with these *anubandhas*[4]. It may be interesting and at the same time highly useful to study these *anubandhas* in full details as evinced in P's system. This is what we propose to do in the following pages.

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2. *Prakṛtipratyayāgamādeśānāṁ vikaraṇāgamaguṇavṛddhyādikāryaviśeṣārṭhamanubandhanīyaḥ pariṇiṣpannapadakāleṣu aśrūyamāṇatayā naśvara itsaṁjñatayā kṛtalopo varṇaḥ (anubandaḥ) iti śābdikāḥ.*
3. The traditional explanation of this term is for the first time found in the *Cāndra-vṛtti* (to C 1-1-5); *iṇaḥ kvip, tuk, etīti it, gacchati na tiṣṭhati, lupyata ity arthaḥ* (See PALSULE, the *Sanskrit Dhātupaṭhas, a Critical Study*, pp. 62, note 5).
4. *Paribhāṣās*, according to different schools, have been comprehensively put together and edited recently by Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR under the title *Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha*.

3. P's work is well-known for its brevity and terseness both of which have been achieved by him through various devices; and the use of *anubandhas,* it may be observed, is perhaps the most crucial one among them. In fact for a good mastery of P's work (nay, of any work belonging to the Pāṇinian school), a perfect acquaintance with the *anubandhas* is a desideratum. For, it is by means of the *anubandhas* attached to *pratyayas* etc. that P has conveyed rules which, in the absence of these *anubandhas,* would require lengthy expressions to be noted and would even require to be repeated several times. But space economy has been achieved by P by the extensive use of *anubandhas* throughout his work. Equally or perhaps even more important is the fact (from the student's point of view in particular) that a thorough mastery of these *anubandhas* together with their several and respective indications on the basis of a few directions laid down or indicated by P and Pat about them saves much of a student's labour and enables him to understand and remember several otherwise intricate rules with perfect ease and with minimum of exertion. A detailed study of the *anubandhas* would, therefore, be worth-while; and will more than amply repay all the energy and time bestowed on it by helping the student to gain a good mastery over and perfect ease in Sanskrit grammar.

4. Let us start with the question: What letters have been used by P as *anubandhas?*. It has already been noted that P has never used the word *anubandha.* He has preferred the shorter term *it* to signify the same. The fact that P does not give any definition of the term *it,* but uses it, as if it were quite well understood, makes it quite probable that the term was brought into vogue by some predecessors of P, who simply took it over from them and utilised it in his work in

his own way. Whatever may be the fact about the term *it* itself, there is no doubt that such *it* letters or *anubandhas* were brought into use by authors prior to P[5] and authors belonging to schools other than that of P[6]. It may be interesting to study in details their use by P's predecessors and also by the formulators of the non-Pāṇinian schools. For, such a study may reveal to us the actual contribution of P in this respect. But we may reserve such a study for some other occasion and restrict ourselves here only to the part played by *anubandhas* in the system of P and his school, and make a detailed study of the *anubandhas* as used in the Pāṇinian system.

5. Turning now to the question stated above we find that P has composed eight aphorisms (1.3.2-9) to tell us what letters should be considered to be *its* (noting the exceptions or restrictions, if any) and to declare that the *it* letters are ultimately to be dropped. A perusal of these aphorisms shows that a majority of the letters of the *Devanāgarī* alphabet have been used by P as *its* under certain conditions, which he has explicitly mentioned. Thus, for example, in one aphorism (1.3.2)

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[5] This is shown by at least two references in Pāṇini's work. In 7.1.18 P has used the term *auṅ* about which after some discussion Pat remarks: *pūrvasūtranirdeśo'yaṁ purvasūtreṣu ca ye'nubandhā na tair ihetkāryāṇi kriyante.* The other reference is in 6.4.141, where P has mentioned *āṅ* on which Kaiyaṭa remarks: *āṅ iti pūrvācāryaprakriyayā tṛtīyaikavacanagrahaṇād avyāptiṁ matvāha.* It has to be observed that the *its*, as used by predecessors of P, are not always made to serve the purposes that they are made to do in P's system. Also read BALASUBRAHMANYAM, *Patañjali on the Pre-Pāṇinian Anubandhas Ñ and C.*

[6] As, for example, in the *Phiṭsūtra* of Śāntanavācārya.

P tells us that a vowel is to be considered *it* if it belongs to the *upadeśa*[7] (original instruction in the *sūtrapāṭha*, the *gaṇapāṭha* or the *dhātupāṭha*) and is a nasal (*anunāsika*). Actually, however, in the *sūtrapāṭha* handed down traditionally, no vowel has been marked as being nasal; and hence we have the general direction given by authorities like the *Kāśikā* that in P's system the nasality (*ānunāsikya*) is to be determined on the basis of *pratijñā*, which may be said to be almost the same as traditional explanation[8]. Thus it may be said that whether a vowel is or is not a nasal (*ānunāsikya*) is to be ascertained on the basis of tradition only. This, of course, is quite in keeping with the famous *parībhāṣā*, *vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na hi sandehād alakṣaṇam* (the very opening *paribhāṣa* in Nāgeśa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*).

6. In the remaining aphorisms P has stated what consonants are to be considered to be *it* and under what circumstances. The general rule laid down by P in this connection is that the final consonant (*hal*) in an original statement (*upadeśa*) should be considered as being *it*. To this, however, there are certain exceptions, which he has laid down in the following aphorism. Accordingly the letters of the *tavarga*, *s* and *m* belonging to a *vibhakti* (*sup*, *tiṅ* and some of the *taddhita pratyayas*[9]), though standing at the end in an *upadeśa*, are not to be con-

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[7] The exact signification of the term *upadeśa* is discussed in para 57 below.

[8] In this connection read the following remark of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Prāuḍha-manoramā* on 1.1.5: *yady api sūtrakārakṛto'nunāsikapāṭha idānīṁ paribhraṣṭaḥ, tathāpi vṛttikārādivyavahārabalena 'yathākāryaṁ prāk sthita' ity anumīyate.*

[9] *Vibhakti*, according to P, covers not only the case endings, and the personal endings, but even some of the *taddhita* affixes (cf. 1.4.104; 5.3.1). For these see ABHYANKAR, *DSG* p. 331.

sidered as *it*. Hence the final consonants of *āt, smin, vas, mas* etc. are not *it* and hence not dropped in the process of formation like the final consonants of other *pratyayas*. Thus now it may be remembered that the final consonant in an *upadeśa*, except a letter of the *tavarga, s* or *m* belonging to a *vibhakti* in the wider sense of the term, is to be considered *it*.

7. But there are certain consonants that are placed in an *upadeśa* not at the end but at the beginning and yet are to be considered *its*. These have been noticed by P in the next four aphorisms (1.3.5-8). Thus in one aphorism he declares that *ñi. ṭu* and *ḍu* (these *ṭu* and *ḍu* are to be taken as they are and not as *saṁjñā* formed according to 1.1.69) are to be considered *it* when they stand at the beginning in an *upadeśa*. This, it must be observed, is quite a general rule and is not to be restricted to *vibhaktis* or *pratyayas* only, though as we shall see below, illustrations for this rule are generally drawn from the *Dhātupāṭha* only. (cf. *ñimidā, ñidhṛṣā, ṭuośvi, ḍuvap, ḍukṛñ*[10])

8. The next aphorism (1.3.6) is, however, restricted to *pratyayas* only and lays down that the initial *ṣ* belonging to a *pratyaya* in an *upadeśa* should be considered *it*. Similarly the letters of the *cavarga* (*cu*) and the *ṭavarga* (*ṭu*) standing at the beginning of a *pratyaya* in an *upadeśa* are declared to be *it* (1.3.7); while the initial *l, ś* and the letters of the *kavarga* (*ku*) are to be considered as *it,* provided they appertain not to a *taddhita* affix (1.3.8). In this connection the

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[10] In the affix *ñiṭha, ñ* is the real *anubandha* and *i* is only *uccāraṇārtha*, which shows that it is not the same as *ñi* (as a whole). Similarly in the *āgama ṭuk* (=*ṭ*), *ṭu*, though standing at the beginning, is not an *it* or *anubandha* as a whole. There the *ṭ* is in fact the suffix; and the real *anubandha* is *k*; and *u* is only *uccāraṇārtha*. See *Kāśikā* on 4.2.116.

Kāśikā has pointed out that these rules regarding *its* are not absolute, so much so that there are cases where they do not apply and where certain letters, which (according to these rules) should be taken as *its*, are actually not to be so considered. We have already seen that in the suffix *ṭuk*, *ṭu*, though it stands at the beginning of the *pratyaya*, is not *it*. Other such illustrations are to be found in the suffixes *cuñcup*, *caṇap* and *ṭīṭac*, where *c* and *ṭ* are found to stand in the beginning respectively, and yet are not to be considered as *its*. This point has been clarified by the *Kāśikā* while explaining the reason why *cuṭū* (1.3.7) has been composed as a separate *sūtra*. It says: *pṛthagyogakaraṇam asya vidher anityatvajñāpanārtham.*

9. Having thus stated what letters are to be considered *it* and in what positions, P ultimately lays down (*PA*. 1.3.9) that these *its* are to be dropped. This in other words means that these letters are not to be considered as forming an integral part of the *pratyayas* etc. in their actual (or linguistic) form; and hence should have no place in the ultimate form of the word obtained by the addition of these *pratyayas*. An interesting question has been raised and discussed by Sanskrit grammarians in this connection and the whole discussion has been so to say summed up by N in two *paribhāṣās*[11], which (along with several others) we shall discuss at a later stage. Here we may only note that of the several letters of the *Devanāgarī* alphabet, P has used as *anubandhas* (or *its*) all the vowels except *ai* and *au*; and all the consonants except *ch, jh, ṭha, ḍha, th, d, dh, ph, b, bh,* and *h* (not to mention *y* and *v*, which have occurred in the *Śivasūtras* only). But even among these there are some which have

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[11] *anekāntā anubandhā iti /ekāntāḥ/* (Nāgeśa, *Pbh.* 4-5). For a detailed discussion of these *Paribhāṣās* see paragraphs 36 ff. below.

been utilised by P in another way, of course, as a measure of economy. Thus, the letters *kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, ph, y* and *v* have been used by him as *sthānins* for different substitutes as stated by him in 7.1.1-3 and 7.3.50. Thus it would appear that the only letters of the *Deva.* alphabet not utilised by P for achieving economy are *d, dh, b* and *h* among the consonants, and *ai* and *au* among the vowels.

10. A study of the *anubandhas* used by P shows that in several cases an *anubandha* letter is placed at the end or at times even at the beginning. In some cases, however, the *anubandha* letter has a vowel (very often *i* or *u*) prefixed (or at times suffixed) to it; while in several cases again more *anubandhas* than one have been used simultaneously; and then they are placed at both the ends according to convenience. The *anubandhas* as a rule are not placed together and at the same end[12]. Now though the concept of *anubandha* may not be an invention of P, there is no doubt that P has excelled all his predecessors in the skilful use of that concept; and it may be highly interesting to study in details the various ways in which P has utilised it. The mechanism of *anubandha* is found to play a very prominent part throughout the *sūtrapāṭha*, even a cursory perusal of which is enough to convince the reader how in P's hands it has become a very prominent and efficient means of securing economy which proverbially is a penchant of the Sanskrit grammarian[13].

11. The most elementary mechanism to which *anubandhas* have been put by P is the formation of what is technically

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[12] Read Patañjali's remarks: *na hy ayam anubandhaḥ śalyakavac chakya upacetum;* and *nānubandhasaṅkaro'sti.* (*Vārttika* 9 on *Śivasūtra* 1).

[13] This has been couched in the form of the *paribhāṣā*: *ardhamātrālāghavena putrotsavaṁ manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ* (*Pbh.* 133).

designated *pratyāhāra*[14]. P himself has not used the word *pratyāhāra*, though in one *aphorism* (1.1.71) he has clearly stated how a *pratyāhāra* is to be formed and what it would convey. The word has, however, been used by Kātyāyana (in his *vārttika* on *PA*. 1.1.69) and his successors. It appears that the mechanism of *pratyāhāra* formation is generally restricted to the *Śiva-sūtras* only, although P is found to have formed some on the basis of his own *sūtras* also. P himself has made use of more than forty *pratyāhāras* based on the *Śiva-sūtras*, which are otherwise (and quite significantly too) named *pratyāhāra-sūtras*.

12. These *sūtras*, 14 in number, have naturally 14 *anubandhas* (one at the end of each *sūtra*); and according to some authorities the vowel *a* (in *sūtra* 6: *laṇ*) is the fifteenth. This *a*, however, has not been recognised as an *anubandha* by all. Now according to the *sūtra* '*ādir antyena sahetā*' though it may be possible theoretically to coin more than a hundred *pratyāhāras*, P has used only forty-one (or forty two, if *la*[15] is accepted as such) all of which (except *la*) have been very pithily indicated

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[14] The practice of using *pratyāhāras* appears to be pre-Pāṇinian, owing to the fact that it is evinced in the grammar attributed to Indra. The expression itself is found in the *Ṛk-tantra* 1.3. *Pratyāhāras* like *tiṅ*, *ik* and *ac* are met with in works like the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, the *Uṇādi-sūtra* and the *Phiṭsūtra*. But one cannot definitely assert that these works in their present form are pre-Pāninian.

[15] That P never intended to have this *a* (in *laṇ*) as *anubandha* (and the *pratyāhāra ra* formed with it) is shown by the fact that he has in 7.2.2 used the expression *lrāntasya*, and not *rāntasya*. Nor is it so recognised by Pat in his commentary on the *sūtra*, *laṇ*. For an interesting discussion on this point read *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* (Andhra Uni. Sk. Series No. 26) Vol. I. p. 25 ff.

in one *kārikā* at the end of the *Kāśika* on the *Śiva-sūtras.* The *kārikā* is:

> *ekasmān ṅañaṇavaṭā, dvābhyāṁ ṣas, tribhya eva kaṇamāḥ syuḥ/*
> *jñeyau cayau caturbhyo, raḥ pañcabhyaḥ, śalau ṣaḍbhyaḥ/ /*

Irrespective of the views held regarding the authorship of the *Śiva-sūtras*, there can be no two opinions about the insight displayed by P in coining *pratyāhāras* such as *ac, hal* and *al* signifying all vowels, all consonants, and all letters of the *Deva.* alphabet respectively, and thereby achieving economy to a very large extent.

13. But it has to be noted that P has not restricted his concept of *pratyāhāra* to the *Śiva-sūtras* only. He has gone further and coined *pratyāhāras* on the basis of some of his own *sūtras* also. Thus on the basis of 4.1.2 (*svaujasamauṭ* etc.) he has coined the *pratyāhāra sup,* which stands for all the case-endings enumerated in that *sūtra.* Similarly he has framed and used the *pratyāhāra tiṅ,* which has reference to *tiptasjhi* etc. (3.4.78) and signifies all personal endings. Within these two *sūtras* again he has coined the *pratyāhāras suṭ* (signifying the first five case-endings, which he has technically named *sarvanāmasthāna,* 1.1. 43) and *āp* (signifying the case-endings from instr. sg. upto loc. plr. 7.2.112) on the basis of the former and *taṅ* (signifying the *ātmanepadi* personal endings) on the basis of the latter (1.4.100). It is easy to see that these *pratyāhāras* are coined on the same principle, namely *ādir antyena sahetā* (1.1.71).

14. One more *pratyāhāra* supposed to have been used by P in his work is *tṛn,* occurring in 2.3.69. There is full agreement among grammarians that here *tṛn* is a *pratyāhāra* formed with *tṛ* (occurring in *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau,* 3,2,124) and *n* (at the end of *tṛn,* 3.2.135). This would appear to be a rather abnormal

way of forming a *pratyāhāra*, and appears to have been subjected to some criticism at first, though later on it has been finally accepted as such when supported by Patañjali[16].

15. The case of (the supposed *pratyāhāra*) *kṛñ* would appear to be still different. Here again we are told that *kṛñ* is a *pratyāhāra* formed by taking *kṛ* out of *kṛbhvastiyoge* etc. (5.4.50) and *ñ* occurring in *kṛño dvitīyatṛtīya* etc. (5.4.58). Even this *pratyāhāra* appears to have been hardly meant by P, perhaps quite belied by Kātyāyana's *vārttika*, namely *kṛño'nuprayogavacanam astibhūpratiṣedhārtham* (3.1.40.1), but revived so to say and further supported by the *vārttika*, *iṣṭaḥ sarvānuprayogaḥ* (3.1.40.3) and Patañjali's emphatic statement, *iṣyate prāpnoti ca*, which he establishes by declaring that here in *kṛñ* we have a *pratyāhāra*[17]. In the case of both these *pratyāhāras* it is quite easy to see their absence of genuineness or their far-fetched nature so far as P's work is concerned. One can easily perceive the difference between *tṛn* and *kṛñ* on the one hand and any other *pratyāhāras* (say *ac*, *al* or even *sup*, *tiṅ*, *suṭ* and *taṅ*) used by P on the other. These latter are formed strictly in conformity with the statement of P (1.1.71), and include every letter (excepting the mute ones) that happens to stand between the *ādi* and the last *it* letter. Only the *its* are excluded and rightly too. But this cannot be said of *tṛn* and far less of *kṛñ* which, if conceived as *pratyāhāras* between the limits stated above (on the authority of Patañjali and others), will have to convey several other things which happen to stand between those limits. But no commentator has accepted (nor is it possible to accept) such a wide sense for these *pratyāhāras*. It is, there-

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[16] Read *tṛn iti nedaṁ pratyayagrahaṇam / kiṁ tarhi pratyāhāragrahaṇam* etc. Pat on 2.3.69.

[17] Read the *Vārttikas* and the *Mahābhāṣya* on 3.1.40.

fore, likely that these two *pratyāhāras* were not intended as such by P, but ingeniously conceived as such by later authorities just to fit P's rules to the state of the Sanskrit language obtaining in their time (i.e. several centuries after P).

16. A similar mechanism to which *anubandhas* have been put by P is the formation of *saṁjñā*. In fact a *pratyāhāra* also is declared to be a *saṁjñā*[18]. But the *saṁjñās*, we are now referring to, differ from the *pratyāhāras* not only in their formation but also in their signification. These are of two kinds. In one the *anubandha t* is used; and it is restricted to vowels alone. Ordinarily a vowel as it is found in the *Śiva-sūtras* signifies or stands for all qualitatively similar vowels; but when capped with the *anubandha t* it becomes a *saṁjña*, which signifies quantitatively similar vowels only. Thus *at* would mean only short *a*, *āt* would mean only long *ā* and so on. Thus the *anubandha t* applied to any vowel will form *saṁjñās* signifying that vowel and also its other varieties which are quantitatively similar to it.

17. The other variety of *saṁjñās* is formed with the *anubandha u* affixed to the (first) letter of each series of class consonants; and the *saṁjñās* thus formed signify all the letters of these classes respectively. Thus *ku* signifies all the letters of the *kavarga*. The other *saṁjñās* thus formed are *cu*, *ṭu*, *tu* and *pu*. Both these types of *saṁjñās* are noted by P in 1.1.69 and 70.

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[18] This is shown by Bhaṭṭoji's remark: *antyena itā sahita ādir madhyagānāṁ svasya ca saṁjñā syāt* (*SK* on 1.1.71); also read: *tasyāṁ ca satyām ādireva antyenetsaṁjñakatvenopalakṣitaḥ saṁjñā syāt* (*Nyāsa on* 1.1.71). *Also read Mahābhāṣya* on 1.1.71.

18. P's skill in utilising *anubandhas* for forming *saṁjñās* and thereby achieving brevity is seen in yet another direction; for, there are instances where P has deliberately used additional *anubandhas* simply for this purpose. The obvious cases of this skill are to be found in the *pratyayas* which, when divested of all their *anubandhas,* are exactly identical. In the case of such *pratyayas* the first task that P had before him was to distinguish them from one another; and this he has done by attaching different *anubandha* letters to them. Thus, for example, the three fem. suffixes ī have been distinguished from one another by the addition of the *anubandha, n, p,* and ṣ respectively. But there are occasions that demand a common reference to these all; and P has facilitated and made this possible by prefixing a common *anubandha* (viz. *ṅ*) to all the three. Thus the *pratyayas* fully capped with their *anubandhas* as given by P are *ṅīn, ṅīp* and *ṅīṣ,* wherein the *ṅ* at the beginning is meant for common reference to all the three (*sāmānyagrahaṇārtha,* as the *Kāśikā* has explained it), while *n, p* and ṣ are for distinction among them (*viśeṣaṇārtha*). Thus P has used the term *ṅī, āp* and *tṛ* as common *saṁjñās* for *ṅīn, ṇīp, ṅīṣ*; *cāp, ṭāp, dāp,* and *tṛc, tṛn* respectively. Another *anubandha* thus used for *sāmānyagrahaṇa* is *k* (in *kyac, kyaṣ,* etc).

19. Another purpose pointed out by Pat, whom the *Kāśikā* follows, is *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighāta,* as for example that of *c* in the case of *kyac* or *tṛc*. This, however, is not exactly the same as *sāmānyagrahaṇa* described so far. In *sāmānyagrahaṇārtha* cases, the *anubandha* letter attached or affixed is the same for all the *pratyayas* such as *ṅ* in the case of *ṅīn* etc, or *k* in the case of *kyac* etc. But such is not the case, with *c, ṅ* and ṣ in *kyac, kyaṅ, kyaṣ*. In these *pratyayas k* serves the purpose of *sāmānyagrahaṇa* as stated above. But what is the purpose of

c in *kyac?* Surely it is not distinction (*viśeṣaṇa*) ; for even in the absence of *c,* the *pratyaya, kya* can be distinguished quite easily and clearly from *kyaṅ* and *kyaṣ,* by the mere absence of a second *anubandha.* But here the problem is, how to make a common reference to all of them. The *anubandha k,* of course, is there for that purpose. But this *k* by itself is not competent enough to achieve that end in full. For, if and when the *saṁjñā kya* is used as a term of common reference to all the three, it will refer only to itself and not at all to the other two. *Kya* is a term with one *anubandha* and that *anubandha* is *k;* while the other two have two *anubandhas* each, having *ṅ* and *ṣ* (in addition to *k*) respectively. This makes all the difference; and in a technical rule (to be discussed below) we are told that a reference with one *anubandha* is not competent to cover something with a different *anubandha*[19]. Thus here crops up a difficulty in the way of *sāmānyagrahaṇa.* This is what is described as *sāmānyagrahaṇavighāta.* P with his acumen saw this difficulty and removed it by adding one more *anubandha* to *kya,* thus bringing all the three *pratyayas* on the same footing by making each one of them have two *anubandhas.* It is in such cases that some different *anubandha* is utilised for not causing (or rather for removing) the impediment to the *sāmānyagrahaṇa* which is to result on the strength of an *anubandha* that is common to all. It may thus be seen that *sāmānyagrahaṇa* is the purpose served by the *anubandha* that is common to several *pratyayas;* while *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighāta* is the purpose served by an *anubandha* that is not so common. Thus whereas *p* (in *cāp, ṭāp, ḍāp*), or *ṇ* (in *ṇic, ṇiṅ*) is *sāmānyagrahaṇārtha, ṭ* (in *ṭāp*) or *c* (in *vic*) or *p* (in *ṅīp*) is *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighātārtha.*

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[19] This has been very well expressed in the form of the *paribhāṣā*: *tadanubandhake nātadanubandhakasya* /*Pbh.* 83.

20. Another purpose served by an *anubandha* is to characterise a *pratyaya* for the purpose of identification. This is again slightly different from the purpose *viśeṣaṇa* (distinction) described above. There the main problem is to draw a distinction among *pratyayas* which in the absence of the *anubandha* would appear to be identical. But the case of *pratyayas* like *ac, khac* or *śnam* is slightly different. Here there is no problem of drawing a distinction between these and other apparently identical *pratyayas*. The problem rather is how to convey their exact identity. This evidently has to be done with the help of some identity mark. Take, for example, the *sūtra, śnān nalopaḥ* (6.4. 23). Here by *śna* is meant the *vikaraṇa na* (*śnam* of cl. VII). Now if the *anubandha ś* had not been used and the *vikaraṇa* had been given only as *nam,* P would not have been able to say *śnāt* in the aphorism quoted above. He would have been required to say *nāt;* and this would have created a doubt regarding the identity of the *na* meant by him. But the affixing of the *anubandha ś* has removed this difficulty. For the letter *ś* serves as an identity mark and tells us that *na* of the *vikaraṇa śnam* of cl. VII alone is meant here. This shows that the *anubandha ś* in the case of *śnam* is for the purpose of characterisation (*viśeṣaṇārtha*, as described by the *Kāsikā*[20]). The other cases of such *viśeṣaṇārtha* use of an *anubandha,* as pointed out by the *Kāsikā*, are *c* (of *ac* in 3.3.26; and of *khac* in 3.2.38) and *n* (of *kvin* in 3.2.58).

21. Another important purpose served by the *anubandhas* is the indication of accent. No less than seven *anubandha* letters have been utilised by P for this purpose, composing

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[20] Read Pat.'s discussion on the significance of mute *ś* in *śnam*, where at last he has arrived at the conclusion that it is *viśeṣaṇārtha*. (on 3.4.78).

special aphorisms to state the particular accentuation indicated by a particular letter. Thus the *anubandha p* is declared to indicate *anudāttatva* of the *pratyaya* (3.1.4[21]), while as a general rule a *pratyaya* is declared to be *ādyudātta* or barytone (3.1.3). In other cases, however, P has used *anubandhas* to indicate the accentuation, not only of the *pratyaya* itself, but of the whole formation as such. Thus, for example, in one aphorism, *tit svaritam* (6.1.185) it has been laid down that a *tit* (having *t* for *it* i.e. *anubandha*) *pratyaya* or formation shall have the *svarita* accent[22] on its final vowel. All the other letters used for indicating accentuation pertain to the acute accent only and indicate its position in the fully formed expression after the addition of the *pratyayas* concerned. Thus the letters *ñ* and *n* indicate that the acute will be on the initial syllable of the finished form (cf.6.1.197), while the letter *c* indicates that the acute will be on the final syllable of the completed expression (cf.6.1.133, and the *Kāsiḳā*: *citi pratyaye praḳṛtipratyayasamudāyasyānta udāttaḥ*). The letter *k* also is used for the same purpose; but with this difference that whereas *c* indicates the accentuation of all sorts of formations, *k* indicates the accentuation of *taddhita* formations only (6.1.165). The only other letters used as *anubandhas* for indicating accent are *r* and *l*; they are used to indicate that the acute will be on the *upottama* (penultimate syllable) and on the syllable immediately preceding the *pratyaya* respectively (cf.6.1.217; 6.1.193). It is needless to add any illustrations here; for, they can be easily found in the lists of the *pratyayas* given under the various letters. It may, however, be quite pertinent to remark that by using these letters as *anubandhas* P has not only compressed this vast subject of accentuation in the shortest space possible, but even made it quite easy to grasp and retain. This aspect of P's work has not received the attention it deserves and a close study of it, one can say without much fear of contradiction, would give a good impetus to Vedic exegesis.

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[21] We may note a special case here, namely the suffix *cāp* (=ā́). This suffix has two *anubandhas* *c* and *p* indicating *antodāttatva* (of the formation) and *anudāttatva* (of the suffix) respectively. This obviously involves a conflict which has been resolved by a *paribhāṣā* (not, however, recognised and accepted by all authorities) in favour of *c*. The *pbh* is: *pitsvarāc citsvaro balīyān*. This has been discussed below.

[22] Of course, on the final syllable. *Cf*. *SSC*, which reads *titsvaritaḥ* and explains it as *titaḥ antaḥ svaritaḥ*. The traditional reading, however, is *tit svaritam;* and none of the commentators appears to have clearly stated that the *tit formations* are *antasvarita*, though all have taken it for granted.

22. One more point to be noted here and in fact in connection with all the *anubandhas* (or at least most of them) is that they have been made to serve more purposes than one simultaneously. This we shall discuss to some extent at a later stage.

23. Another important use of the *anubandhas* made by P is to indicate the occurrence of *vṛddhi* in the base to which the *pratyaya* is appended. Thus *ñ* and *ṇ* used as *anubandhas* indicate that before such a *kṛt pratyaya* the final vowel or the penultimate *a* of the base (*aṅga*) will undergo *vṛddhi*. But if the *ñit* or *ṇit pratyaya* is a *taddhita,* the *vṛddhi* will occur in the first vowel in the base to which the *pratyaya* is appended. This holds good in the case of a *kit taddhita pratyaya* also. It is here interesting to observe how P has noticed and notified the difference in the modifications undergone by the base in the *kṛt* and the *taddhita* formations respectively. (7.2.115-118).

24. The letters *k* and *ṅ* in some cases indicate prevention of *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* in the base to which such *pratyayas* are appended (1.1.5). This naturally holds good in the case of *pratyayas* and formations other than *taddhita,* which have been separately and specifically noticed by P in a separate *sūtra* (7.2.118). Here we may take for illustration two *kṛt pratyayas* which though identical in form, have been distinguished by P by using the letters *k* and *ṇ* for their *anubandha* in addition to the other *anubandha* (e.g. *l*) which is meant to indicate accentuation. The *pratyayas kamul* and *ṇamul* ultimately come to *am* only. But before *ṇamul* (as stated above) the final vowel or the penultimate *a* of the base will undergo *vṛddhi*; while before *kamul* it will not undergo such a change. Hence we get the forms *vibhā́jam* (*ṇamul*), but *apalúpam* (*kamul*).

25. Besides these broad and general uses to which *anubandhas* have been put by P, there are some which are of a more restricted nature in the sense that they indicate certain matters in connection with not all but only some particular types of expressions or words. Thus *ṅ* as well as an *anudātta vowel,* used as *anubandha* in the case of roots, indicates that such a root is to be conjugated in the *Ātmanepada* only (1.3.12). It is interesting to note that P has used *ṅ* for this purpose in one of his *sūtras* along with a word from which a denominative is to be formed. (cf. 3.1.19 commenting on which the *Kāśiḳā* writes: *citraṅ āścarye—citrīyate/ṅaḳāra ātmanepadārthaḥ*). He has also used it with *pratyayas* like *ḳyaṅ,* and *ṇiṅ* for the same purpose. Another *anubandha* pertaining to *dhātus* is *ñ.* It indicates that the root will take terminations of both the *padas* (cf.1.3.72). It must further be observed that the vowels that have been used as *anubandhas* (with the exception of *i, u* and *ṛ*) pertain to roots only, and

indicate several matters which need not detain us here. From what has been said so far it is clear that some *anubandhas* when used with *dhātus* serve to indicate their *pada,* and also some other modifications in the roots or the *pratyayas* appended to them. This, however, does not mean that these *anubandhas* are specially meant for roots and have no scope elsewhere. In fact *ṅ* and *ñ*, as we have seen above, are used with *kṛt* and *taddhita* (and other) *pratyayas* also, indicating several matters regarding the bases to which they are to be appended.

26. Another instance of restricted scope of an *anubandha* is found in the letter *ś*. In the case of *kṛt pratyayas,* this letter has been used by P to indicate that such a *pratyaya* is to be regarded as *sārvadhātuka;* and the fact that a *pratyaya* is *sārvadhātuka* (or *ārdhadhātuka*) involves certain modifications (or at times prevention thereof) in the base to which it is appended[23].

27. But this very *anubandha* (*ś*) when attached to an *ādeśa* (substitute) indicates that the particular *ādeśa* is substituted for the whole of the base in place of which it has been enjoined. Thus, for example, *aś* (=*a*) is substituted for the whole of *idam* (2.4.32[24]). Another *anubandha* for such a purpose attached to an *ādeśa* is *ṅ*. As a general rule it has

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[23] For *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* read *PA*: 3.4. 113-117. The modifications before these *pratyayas* have been stated in the second part of this work.

[24] The *ādeśa śī*, however, has to be declared to be a *sarvādeśa* not on account of its *śittva*, but on account of its *anekāltva*. For this read: *anekāltvāt sarvādeśaḥ/na ca nānubandhakṛtam anekāltvam iti vācyam/sarvādeśāt prāgitsaṁjñāyā evābhāvāt/* (*SK* on 7.1.17)

been stated that a substitute of more letters than one replaces the whole of the base (1.1.55). But a *ṅit ādeśa* is an exception to this rule. It follows the general rule laid down with reference to *ādeśas* in general (viz. *alo'ntyasya*) and replaces only the final letter of the base (1.1.53). For instance, the *ādeśa ānaṅ*, enjoined by 6.3.25 for *ṛt* (words ending in *ṛ* short), replaces the final *ṛ* only and not the whole word. Hence we get *mātāpitarau* (*ṛ* of *mātṛ* being substituted by *ān*). Copulative compounds formed of the names of deities (*devatādvandvas*) like *indrāvaruṇau* (noticed by P in 6.3.26) also illustrate the same phenomenon. We thus see how *anubandhas* in such cases have been employed by P in connection with *ādeśas*, and what purposes they are made to serve.

28. At times *anubandhas* are also attached to *āgamas*, and *vikaraṇas*. Thus, for example, it has been laid down by P that an *āgama* with *ṭ* as *anubandha* is to be placed at the beginning of that for which it is enjoined. For instance, the *āgamas aṭ* and *āṭ*, which have been laid down by P for the *aṅga* before *luṅ*, *laṅ* and *lṛṅ* (6.4.71) are prefixed to the root. (cf. *akārṣīt*, *akarot, akariṣyat*). By 3.4.94, on the other hand, these *āgamas*, have been laid down with reference to *leṭ* (i.e. the *subjunctive* endings); and hence they are, in such cases, prefixed to the *pratyayas* and not the roots. (cf. *tāriṣat*, and *cyāvayāti*, where the *pratyaya*[25] *ti* has *a* and *ā* prefixed to it in the two forms respectively).

29. Another *anubandha* thus used is *k*, the presence of which indicates that the *āgama* is to be suffixed to that for which it is enjoined. The *āgama muk* (= *m*) has been laid down for the base (*aṅga*) ending in short vowel *a* and when it is fol-

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[25] In *tāriṣat* also the *pratyaya* is *ti*; but its final *i* is dropped according to 6.1.68.

lowed by *āna*. This being *kit* is suffixed to the base (*aṅga*) and hence we get formations like *pacamāna*.

30. The only other *anubandha* used for such a purpose (viz. indication of the place of insertion, *deśavidhyartha* as the *Kāśikā* describes it) is *m;* and this letter indicates that the *āgama* or *vikaraṇa* is to be inserted after the last vowel (*antya ac*) of the base for which it is enjoined. This is clearly noticeable in the case of the *vikaraṇa śnam* (= *na* of cl. VII) which is always inserted after the last vowel of the root. (cf. *ruṇadhmi* etc.). The matter will be quite clear if we take the *āgama n* with these three *anubandhas* (i.e. the *āgamas nuk, nuṭ* and *num*), illustrated respectively by the formations *pativatnī* (*nuk* applied at the end of *pativat,* for which it is laid down by 4.1.32), *agnīnām* (*nuṭ* prefixed to *ām* of gen.plr, by 7.1.54), and *bhavantau* (*num* placed after the final vowel of *bhavat,* by 7.1.70).

31. Besides these there are several other purposes served by the *anubandhas* which are of a more restricted *nature*. Thus the *anubandha i* is used to indicate the prevention of the dropping of the nasal (*anunāsikalopapratiṣedhārtha*); *kh* is used to indicate the insertion of the augment *m* (*mum*); *gh* is used to to indicate the change of *c* and *j* to *k* and *g* (*kutvārtha*); *ṭ* is used to indicate that the feminine will be formed by the addition of *ṅīp*; *ḍ* is used to indicate the dropping of the *ṭi* (the last vowel together with the following consonant or consonants); *ṣ* is used to indicate that the formation will take *ṇīṣ* to form feminine; and *s* is used to indicate that the base to which such a *pratyaya* is appended is designated a *pada* as distinguished from *aṅga* or *bha* (*pada-saṁjñārtha*).

32. Having studied the various purposes in broad outline so far we may further observe that besides all these more or

less general purposes served by the *anubandhas* there are several others which pertain to some particular bases (*prātipadikas*, *dhātus*, etc.) only and comprise the occurrence or prevention of various particular modifications with reference to them. All these have been noticed in details under the various letters below; and they need not detain us here. We may only note that there are cases where out of the several purposes, that a particular *anubandha* letter is expected to serve, only some are served and the others are not. It is very rarely that an *anubandha* can be declared to serve no purpose whatsoever. For an *anubandha* to justify its existence it is enough if it serves some one or the other of the various purposes indicated by it. This circumstance at times creates certain subtle problems some of which have been discussed and settled by N in his *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* in several *paribhāṣās* which we shall discuss at a later stage. We shall bring this topic of the purposes served by the *anubandhas* to a close by mentioning three more points that deserve particular attention.

33. The first point to be noted is that in several cases, *anubandhas* (particularly vowels) are used only for ease of pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha* or *mukhasukhārtha* as the *Kāśikā* describes it). Commenting on *laṇ* (*Śiva-sūtra* 6), the *Kāśikā* declares that the vowel *a* in that *sūtra* is nasal by *pratijñā* and is, therefore, an *anubandha*; but the same vowel *a* occurring in each one of the letters (in the other *Śiva-sūtras*) beginning with *ha* is only for the sake of pronunciation and hence is not to be considered an *anubandha*. If this view is strictly followed, several of the vowels used with *pratyayas* etc. by P will have to be denied the designation of *anubandha*. But we may not be so fastidious; and may assume that even such letters (and these are all vowels) as appear to have been used by P for mere ease of pronunciation (*mukhasukhārtha* or

uccāraṇārth) are also *anubandhas*. Take, for instance, the *pratyayas manin*, and *kvanip*, and the *āgamas nuṭ*, and *tuṭ*, which actually stand for *man, van, n,* and *t* respectively. The final consonants in all these, of course, are *its* or *anubandhas*. Now in the absence of the intervening vowel *i* or *u* in these, one can imagine how difficult (if not altogether impossible) it would be to pronounce these *pratyayas* and *āgamas*. This will make it clear as to why P has used these vowels in these and similar other cases. In some cases even these vowels have some purpose to serve; as, for example, in the case of *matup* (q.v.). When, however, no such purpose is served by such vowels, we can rightly say that they are *mukhasukhārtha*. The *Kāśikā* has pointed out several such cases; for example *i* (in *cli*), a (in *ta*), *u* (in *sīyuṭ* or in *ṣu* nom. sg. termination), etc. It even declares *t* (in *āt* which is meant for the inclusion of quantitatively similar vowels) to have no other purpose but ease of pronunciation[26].

34. The next point to be noted pertains to *pratyayas* like *vati, vini, ini, ḍaisi* etc., which stand for *vat, vin, in, ais,* etc. respectively. In such cases the vowel that is used at the end is not meant for ease of pronunciation; for, that can be done even without that vowel. Nor can it be declared to be totally useless; for, it is but impossible to imagine that P would use so many letters (and repeat the same) for nothing. A little consideration would show that if these vowels are dropped (or not used) the *pratyayas* would have to be given as *vat, vin* etc., that is to say as ending in consonants. Now according to P's own direction the final consonant (in an *upadeśa*) is to be considered as being an *it* and is, therefore, to be dropped.

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[26] cf. *āditi takāro mukhasukhārtho na tv ayaṁ taparaḥ/Kāśikā* on 3.2.171.)

This would lead us to drop the final consonants in these *pratyayas* and understand them as ultimately having the forms *va, vi,* etc. But this is surely absurd and far from what is intended. In such cases, therefore, the problem is how to save the final consonants of the *pratyayas* in their ultimate form from being dropped under the designation *it*. And this problem has been solved by P by the simple device of adding a vowel after these consonants and thus preventing them from appearing as a final consonant (*antya hal*). In such cases, then, the purpose served by the final vowel is to save the consonant from being dropped (*nakāraparitrāṇa* as commentators have stated it in the case of *ini, vini* etc.).

35. A perusal of the various purposes served by the *anubandhas* in P's system, given later on under different letters of the alphabat, will show that while some letters like *k*, and *ṅ,* have been used in a large variety of manners and also to a very large extent, some have been used quite sparingly, for only one purpose and that also in the case of hardly four *pratyayas*. Some have been used in connection with almost every kind of expression (*prātipadika, dhātu, pratyayas* of all kinds, *āgamas, ādeśas,* etc.); while some appear to be restricted only to this or that kind of expression or *pratyaya*. Similarly, sometimes only one *anubandha* letter is used with or without a vowel affixed to it for ease of pronunciation; or sometimes more than one (two or even three) *anubandhas* have been used simultaneously with one and the same *pratyaya* etc. Now, when we know how one *anubandha* indicates several matters regarding the formation and accentuation of the ultimate formation, it should not be difficult for us to realise how by attaching more *anubandhas* than one to several of his *pratyayas* etc. P has conveyed through this simple mechanism several matters about the various formations he derives and what economy he has

achieved thereby in his statement of every such *pratyaya*. And when we further remember that these *anubandhas* have been used with several *pratyayas* etc. we cannot but be struck by the marvellous extent to which economy has been achieved by him in his whole work. Statement of rules otherwise requiring several words and sentences have been ingeniously compressed into a few simple mechanisms or sounds; and this measure of space economy is utilised to the utmost by using the simple mechanism or sounds to indicate all the required statements. The *anubandhas* thus in the hands of P have proved a very important and efficient measure of space economy, though surely not the only one of its kind.

36. Our study of *anubandhas* cannot be complete in any sense of the term unless we study some important *paribhāṣās* that have a bearing on them. A *paribhāṣā* is defined by M. WILLIAMS (*Dictionary*) as 'a rule or maxim which teaches the proper interpretation or application of other rules'. According to Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR (*DSG*), a *paribhāṣā* is an authoritative statement or dictum which is helpful in three different ways: Firstly, it helps us to arrive at the correct interpretation of the rules (*sūtra*) of grammar; secondly, it enables us to remove the apparent conflict between two (or more) rules that may happen to be equally and simultaneously applicable in the process of the formation of words; and lastly, it helps us to arrive at the formation of the correct words. We are not here concerned with all the *paribhāṣās*, nor with all the purposes served by them together with their illustrations. That is a subject for a special study, indeed. We shall restrict ourselves here only to the *paribhāṣās* (discussed, illustrated, and explained by various

commentators[27]) that have a bearing on the *anubandhas* and some problems that crop up in connection with them.

37. The most important point to be noted about the *paribhāṣās* in general is that very few among them are directly from the pen of Pāṇini. Many of the *paribhāṣās* belong to various grammatical authors who, being confronted by certain problems while interpreting *sūtras* of P (or of other authors), thought it expedient to formulate certain principles of interpretation which would solve the problems. These maxims, because they represent a technical apparatus for the interpretation of P's rules, were designated *paribhāṣā*. Thus, interpretation of P's rules being the main purpose of these *paribhāṣās*, their authority is only secondary as compared with that of P's rules; and hence they cannot and should not be used for arriving at undesirable results, contradicting the rules of P. They have to be utilised only when the *sūtras* themselves do not help us to arrive at their correct and exact interpretation[28]; and it should be carefully observed that their application does not yield wrong results. The position of the *paribhāṣā* thus would appear to be comparable to that of *tarka* in *Vedānta* (as explained by Śaṅkarācārya). This principle also has been formulated in the form

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[27] All the discussion about the several *paribhāṣās* here is based on the following excellent works: i) *Paribhaṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa with MM Vasudeva Shastri ABHYANKAR's *Tattvādarśa*, edited by Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR, Poona; 2) *Translation* (English) of the above work by F. KIELHORN, second edition by Prof. ABHYANKAR, Poona; 3) Marathi translation of the above work by Shri. N. D. WADEGAONKAR, Nagpur; and 4) *Paribhāṣāsaṁgraha* edited by Prof. K. V. ABHYANKAR, Poona.

[28] That is why a *paribhāṣā* is defined as *aniyame niyamakāriṇī* (cf. *Nyāyakośa*, p. 480).

of a *paribhāṣā* as: *agatyā hi khalu paribhāṣāśrīyate* or *agatyā nu paribhāṣāśrīyate*[29]. There are two more *paribhāṣās* pertaining to *anubandhas* and having reference to the scope of *paribhāṣās* in general[30]. One declares that a *pbh* can find scope only in the *vidhi* portion of a *sūtra* and not in the *anuvāda* portion; while in the other[31] it is laid down that though ordinarily what is stated about a root holds good in the case of *yaṅluk* formations also, it will not do so in the case of the roots that are mentioned together with an *anubandha*. These, however, are not quite important for our study here; and hence we need not go into their details.

38. After noticing how the scope of the *pbhs* in general has been defined by some *pbhs* themselves, let us now proceed to the *pbhs* that pertain to *anubandhas* and see how they are highly useful for clarifying several points regarding them.

39. The first problem that might present itself before a thoughtful student is whether the *anubandhas* exist at all; and if they are to be taken as existing, the next problem would be whether they are to be considered as forming an integral part of the *pratyaya* etc. to which they are actually found appended or attached. There are some *pbhs* that settle these problems; and these now we shall take up one by one. Thus, one *pbh* declares

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29. See *Pbh S.* p. 160, *pbh.* 119 and comm. thereon; and p. 268, *pbh.* 123 and comm. thereon, for an elucidation of the whole point.
30. *vidhau paribhaṣopatiṣṭhate nānuvāde*, a *pbh* which has been accepted by Nāgeśa and some other authorities like Sīradeva. For details see *PbhS.*
31. The generally accepted form of this *pbh* is the following couplet:
śtipā śapānubandhena nirdiṣṭaṁ yad gaṇena ca/
yatraiḳājgrahaṇaṁ caiva pañcaitāni na yaṅluḳi// *Pbh.* 120.3.

that the *anubandhas* vanish as soon as they are pronounced, which in other words would only mean that they are as good as non-existent. But they cannot be said to be totally non-existent, because though they themselves disappear altogether yet they leave their traces behind; and hence their existence cannot be altogether denied. Hence we are told in another *pbh* that an *anubandha,* though it disappears, is regarded as if existent through the effect it leaves behind. It may be observed that the *anubandhas* may be considered as existing only when they are expected to produce some effect, otherwise they may be considered as non-existent. The case is comparable to certain *pratyayas* like *cvi, kvip,* etc. which are practically non-existent (because they are to be dropped); and yet the modifications caused by them in the bases to which they are appended do remain unaffected even if the suffixes which have caused them are dropped. (cf. *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*). Thus the problem about the existence or non-existence of the *anubandhas* is solved by the *pbhs*: *uccaritapradhvaṁsino hy anubandhāḥ*[32] and *luptopy anubandhaḥ sādhyasiddhivaśāt sadvat*[33]

40. As for the other problem raised above, it has been very ably discussed by N in his *Pbh* stating fully with illustrations the *pros* and *cons* thereof. Thus he opens the topic by the *prima facie* view in the form of the *pbh. anekāntā anubandhāḥ. Anubandhas,* it is argued, cannot be said to form part (*ekānta*) of the *pratyaya* etc. to which they are attached. For, they are never found to exist

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[32] This *pbh* is accepted by ancient authorities like Vyāḍi and Śākaṭāyana and included in the *Cāndra*, the *Kātantra* and the *Kālāpa pāṭhas* (see ABHYANKAR, *pbhS.*)

[33] This *pbh* is explained by Bhāvamiśra in his *Kātantraparibhāṣāsūtravṛtti*, *pbh.* 24. But none else appears to have accepted this as an independent *pbh*.

along with them. Only the *niranubandhaka* forms of *pratyayas* etc. are found or met with in the language and never the *sānubandhaka* ones. This is enough to prove that *anubandhas* do not form an (essential) part of the *pratyayas* etc. The expressions *śit, kit* etc. or the word *antyam* (in *hal antyam*: *PA* 1.3.3) used by P do not prove that he considers *anubandhas* as *ekānta*. For the terms *śit, kit* etc. as applied to the suffixes can be explained by assuming that *ś*, *k* etc. are metaphorically taken to form parts of the *pratyayas* etc. to which they are appended and the word *antyam* can be taken to signify 'what occurs subsequently and at the same time in close proximity' to some-thing else. Similarly in the *sūtra, vuñchaṇkaṭha* etc. (7.2.80) the effect of the *anubandha* *ṇ* can be restricted to what precedes it by means of *vyākhyāna* only; and hence for this also *ṇ* need not necessarily be supposed to form part of the *pratyaya cha*. Thus there is no ground whatever to consider *anubandhas* as *ekānta* (or *avayava*) of *pratyayas* etc. to which they are found appended.

41. This view, however, has been set aside and the opposite view has been established in the *pbh* : *ekāntāḥ*. The main argument here is that these *anubandhas* are invariably found with the *pratyayas* etc. and never elsewhere. If they were not their parts, why are they not found anywhere else? Similarly the terms *śit, kit,* etc. and also the word *antyam,* which have been awkwardly or inadequately explained above, can be explained quite naturally only on the assumption that *anubandhas* are *ekānta,* which view, therefore, has to be accepted. Moreover, if *anubandhas* are not accepted as parts of the *pratyayas* (of say *ṇa, śa* and *ka*), then they (*ṇ*, *ś*, *k*) cannot be said to be the *ādi* of the *pratyayas* and hence would not be *its* at all. In that case they will have to be retained in the final formation. To avoid this absurdity, we must conclude

that the *anubandhas* do form part of the *pratyayas* etc. to which they are found appended[34].

42. But acceptance of this view has its own difficulties. Thus, for example, let us take the *sūtra, anekāl śit sarvasya,* which lays down that an *ādeśa* comprising more letters than one replaces the whole *sthānin.* Now if we act on the view arrived at above about the *anubandhas* and take them as forming parts of *pratyayas* etc., we shall have to consider all *ādeśas* (of course, capped with *anubandhas*) as being *anekāl;* and there would remain hardly any *ādeśa* that may not be *anekāl.*

43. But that is not all. P has laid down another rule: *vāsarūpo'striyām,* according to which a dissimilar affix (*asarūpa pratyaya*) that is laid down by way of an exception (*apavādarūpa*) will set aside the usual *pratyaya* (*utsarga*) only optionally, except in the case of fem. formation. Here again the problem regarding the *sārūpya* or otherwise of the *pratyayas* with one another may raise the problem of *ekāntatva* or *anekāntatva* of the *anubandhas*. Take, for example, the *pratyayas, ka* and *aṇ*. Divested of their *anubandhas,* these *pratyayas* ultimately come to *a* and hence are identical (*sarūpa*); but they are surely not identical if we take them with the *anubandhas* appended to them. Now we know that, as a matter of fact, these *pratyayas* are definitely *bādhaka* of each other, so much so that they must be considered to be identical (*sarūpa*), and not different (*asarūpa*) from each other. But can we do this if we accept *ekāntāḥ* as the correct view about *anubandhas?* Apparently it is impossible.

44. There is yet another difficulty arising in connection with the root *daip*. The *sūtra*: *ādeca upadeśe'śiti* (6.1.45), which lays down that a root in its original form as it is noted in the

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[34] Read *Pbh*, 4 and 5.

upadeśa (*DP*) ending in *e, o, ai, au* changes its final vowel to *ā*. *Daip,* accordingly will be changed to *dā* before *kta* when it is appended to it. Now there is another *sūtra* which lays down the *saṁjñā ghu* for √*dhā* and √*dā* (except *dāp* i.e. *daip*). Here crops up the main difficulty: *daip* cannot be *ejanta* unless the *anubandha p* is left out and hence *ādeca upadeśe'śiti* cannot be applied to it so long as the *anubandha p* stands. On the other hand, *ghu saṁjñā* is denied to *dāp*, that is to the root *daip* only when it has changed its *ai* to *ā;* and so long as this change does not take place (as shown above owing to the presence of *p*), the prohibition of the *saṁjñā ghu* also cannot apply to it. Thus we see that the application of these two *sūtras* is beset with difficulty; and further that in a way this difficulty arises because the *anubandha p* is considered to form part of the root *daip* on the basis of the view arrived at above.

45. All these difficulties pointed out so far, can be dissolved only if the *anubandhas* are considered as not forming part of the *pratyayas,* etc. to which they are applied. But as has been shown above that cannot be done. Hence to find a way out of these three difficulties it has been declared that the *sārūpya* (or *asārūpya*), *ejantatva* (or *anejantatva*), and *ekāltva* (or *anekāltva*) should be determined not on the basis of the *pratyayas* etc. together with *anubandhas,* but on the basis of the forms which they have when divested of their *anubandhas*. The *anubandhas* should be considered to be ineffective (and as good as non-existent) so far as these three points are concerned. This we are told in the form of three *pbhs* as follows: *nānubandhakṛtam anekāltvam / nānubandhakṛtam asārūpyam/* and *nānubadhakṛtamanejantatvam/*. Bhojadeva has compressed all

these into one *pbh,* namely *nānubandhakṛtāny asārūpyānejantatvānakāltvāni*[35] /

46. Now coming to the actual functioning of the *anubandhas* we have to note several *pbhs*. Some of these pertain to the presence or the absence of *anubandhas* in general, or of a particular *anubandha,* or of the number of *anubandhas* that are appended to a *pratyaya* etc. It has to be observed that P has tried to utilise the *anubandhas* as a measure of space economy by pressing into the service of his rules not merely the presence of the *anubandhas,* but even their absence, and even their number. Hence a rule laid down regarding a *pratyaya* conditioned with an *anubandha* will not hold good elsewhere where the *pratyaya* may have appeared without the *anubandha,* or with some other quite different *anubandha* or having some other *anubandha* used along with it. We have already seen above how the presence or the absence of an *anubandha* or additional *anubandhas* serves the purpose of *sāmānyagrahaṇa*, or *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighāta*, or *viśeṣaṇa* (which may mean either a pointed and specific mention or reference, or simply drawing a distinction). Here we are dealing not with the purposes thus served. We have rather to note some technical rules which we have to follow while trying to append the *pratyayas* (laid down in the *sūtras* in a variety of manners) in view of the *anubandha* or the *anubandhas* that may or may not have been attached to them. In other words, we have to see how the scope of particular rules is to be determined in view of these circumstances stated above.

47. Let us take the case where a rule is laid down with reference to a *pratyaya* etc. without any *anubandha* attached

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[35] *Bhojakṛtaparibhāṣāsūtra* 83; Hemahaṁsagaṇi's *Nyāyasaṁgraha* No. 34 reads: *nānubandhakṛtāny asārūpyānekasvaratvānekavarṇatvāni*. For the three *pbhs* discussed in this paragraph see *Pbh* 6-8.

to it. P in 2.2.11 (*pūraṇaguṇasuhitārthasadavyayatavyasamānādhikaraṇena*) lays down that a formation in *tavya* shall not be compounded with any expression in the genitive. Similarly in *diva aut* (7.1.84) he lays down that the word *div* shall have the *ādeśa au* when followed by *su* (nom. sg. ending). Or in *yatō' nāvaḥ* (6.1.213) he lays down that a disyllabic expression formed by the addition of *yat* will be barytone. Now in the first instance the relevant *pratyaya* is mentioned without any *anubandha* as mere *tavya.* But as we know P has also laid down another suffix which, though apparently identical with this *tavya,* is capped by him with the *anubandha t* and mentioned as *tavyat* (cf. *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ,* 3.1.96). Now the question is whether the prohibition of the *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* that P has laid down with reference to a *tavya* (formation) also applies to a *tavyat* (formation). The answer to this question is, of course, in the negative; and it is based on the fact that a reference without an *anubandha* should not be confounded with a reference together with an *anubandha.* Thus when a *kārya* is laid down by the mention of the *pratyaya* etc. without any *anubandha* appended to them, it will not take place in the case of the *pratyayas* etc. when the *anubandha* is appended to them.

48. In the second rule quoted above, the word *div* is mentioned without any *anubandha;* and hence naturally the rule will not apply to the word *div* formed from *divu* (i.e. √*div*) with the addition of *kvip.* Thus these two instances show that a reference to a *pratyaya* or *prātipadika* etc. without any *anubandha* will not extend to the *pratyaya* etc. with an *anubandha* attached to it. This is what is meant by the *pbh. niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*[36].

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[36] Cf. *Pbh* 82.

49. The third rule quoted above is slightly different. In that rule P has laid down the accentuation of a *yat* formation. Now P has also laid down another suffix which he calls *ṇyat*. Now these two suffixes *yat* and *ṇyat* ultimately are reduced to *ya* only and hence appear to be identical. So one might be tempted to confound these two suffixes and apply the rule laid down for a *yat* formation to a *ṇyat* formation also. But this would be wrong. For, in *yat* P has used only one *anubandha* while in *ṇyat* he has used that *anubandha* together with some other *anubandha*. The latter is, therefore, *atadanubandhaka* (i.e. having not that *anubandha* alone, but some other *anubandha* also along with it). *PA*. 7.4.16, *ṛdṛśo'ṅi guṇaḥ* serves as another illustration; for, the *guṇa* that is enjoined here by the suffix *aṅ* will not take place before the suffix *caṅ*. For *aṅ* is not the same as *caṅ*, so far as the *anubandhas* are concerned. This rule is stated in the form of a *pbh* as follows: *tadanubandhakagrahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya*[37].

50. Sometimes this *pbh* is rather differently worded in view of the fact that in the above illustrative examples the suffixes are mentioned with one and two *anubandhas* respectively, so much so that apparently, one is easily tempted to distinguish between them by using the expressions *ekānubandhaka* and *dvyanubandhaka* respectively. Hence some authorities frame the *pbh*. as, *ekānubandhakagrahaṇe na dvyanubandhakasya*[38]. But N tells us that such an interpretation of the *pbh*, *tadanubandhakagrahaṇe nātadānubandhakasya*, is neither admissible nor acceptable to Patañjali[39]. For Pat has admitted such cases

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[37] Cf. *Pbh* 82.

[38] This is accepted by Vyāḍi, Śākaṭāyana, and some other authorities; but not by Nāgeśa and others.

[39] Read Nāgeśa's remark: *ekānubandhakagrahaṇe sambhavatītyartho na bhāṣyādisammata ity anyatra vistaraḥ*/*Pbh*. 82. The reference is to *LSS* on 4.1.7.

in his commentary more than once (see Pat. on 8.3.1 and the *vārttika*: *vana upasaṁkhyānam*).

51. Another *pbh.* that pertains to a *niranubandhakagrahaṇa* tells us that such a reference will be considered as a reference in general. This *pbh, niranubandhagrahaṇe sāmānyagrahaṇam*[40], is not actually recognised as such in P's school, though the principle involved is well accepted and acted upon by P himself. This is nothing different from the *sāmānyagrahaṇa* (one of the purposes served by *anubandhas*) which we have already noticed and illustrated above.

52. Now there remain three more *pbhs* to be noticed. Two of these pertain to the relative strength or weakness of the *anubandhas* and one indicates in a way the *anityatva* of the functioning of the *anubandhas*. We have already noted above that though several of the *anubandha* letters are said to serve more purposes than one, it is not absolutely necessary and certain that all these functions and purposes be served by them in every case. For an *anubandha* to justify its existence it is enough if it serves but one of the several purposes expected of it. This is what lies behind the *pbh, ekānubandhakṛtam anityam*[41]. In 3.2.71 P lays down the suffix *ṇvin* (with two *anubandhas* *ṇ* and *n*): *ṇ* serves to indicate *vṛddhi* and *n* serves to indicate the accent (acute on the initial syllable). But both these purposes, it was possible for P. to indicate by using only one *anubandha,* namely *ñ*. The fact that he has preferred to use two *anubandhas,* one for each purpose, suggests that according to him the purpose or purposes served by one *anubandha* cannot be said to be definite (*nitya*).

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[40] See *Kātantraparibhāṣāsūtravṛtti* (of Durgasiṁha), No. 45; and *Kālāpaparibhāṣāsūtra*, No. 61.

[41] This is accepted by several authorities like Vyāḍi and Śākaṭāyana; but not by Nāgeśa and others.

53. One more *pbh.* of a similar nature noticed by N is *anudāttettvalakṣaṇam ātmanepadam anityam*[42]. √*cakṣ* is *anudāttet* and must, as such, be *ātmanepadī* according to *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam* (1.3.12). But in *DP* the root is given as *cakṣiṅ*. Here the question arises as to why should the *anubandha ṅ* have been added to this root. For the purpose to be served by this *ṅ* has already been served by the fact that the root is *anudāttet*. So some authorities are inclined to conclude that the addition of the mute *ṅ* here indicates that the *ātmanepada* indicated by *anudāttettva* is not obligatory. It may be observed here that this *pbh* can be said to form only a particular aspect of the *pbh* discussed in the previous paragraph. But it must further be observed that this *pbh* also, has not found a general approval among Sanskrit grammatical authorities; and even N has included it in his *Pbh* only to reject it.

54. Of the two *pbhs* pertaining to the *balābala*, one refers to accentuation. The *anubandhas p* and *c*, as we know, indicate *anudāttatva* (of the suffix) and *antodāttatva* (of the formation) respectively. But there is one case where both these letters are used simultaneously with one and the same suffix (*cāp*). Here *c* and *p*, used with the actual *pratyaya ā*, naturally contradict each other and require us to abandon or neglect one of them. This necessitates a consideration of their *balābala*; for, in cases of conflict, naturally the weaker one is to be set aside and the stronger one accepted. The *pbh.* that settles the matter is *pitsvarāt citsvaro balīyān*[43]. In this connection it has been argued that the framing of a separate rule to lay down the suffix *cāp* (*yaṅaś cāp*, 4.1.74) shows that here the *anubandha c* is specifically meant to indicate accent. This, in other words,

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[42] *Pbh* 96.

[43] Accepted by Vyāḍi and Śākaṭāyana.

means that the accent indicated by *c* (which is specifically meant for that purpose) is stronger than the accent indicated by *p* (which is not so meant in this particular case at least). In this case it has to be observed that the *anubandha p* is meant for *sāmānyagrahaṇa* while *c* is meant for accentuation. This is shown by the fact that P has used the expression *āp* as a common designation for the three suffixes *cāp*, *ṭāp* and *ḍāp* (at 4.1.1.; etc.). This *pbh*, however, has not been accepted as such by all authorities.

55. The next *pbh* that we have to note is *dhātuprātipadikād anubandhaprātipadikaṁ balīyaḥ*. This *pbh* is said to be *jñāpakasiddhā* (being based on 7.2.44, *svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā/*). It also has been accepted by only few authorities and does not appear to have been adopted in P's system.

56. There is, however, one more *pbh* that has been noticed by N and appears to have been widely referred to, though it has no support in *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*. The *pbh* is in the form of a couplet as follows:

> *śtipā śapānubandhena nirdiṣṭaṁ yad gaṇena ca/*
> *yatraikājgrahaṇaṁ caiva pañcaitāni na yaṅluki*[44]*/*.

This *pbh* declares that what has been enjoined on the basis of or by referring to the *anubandha* will not take place in *yaṅluk* formations. After a long discussion and argumentation N has arrived at the conclusion that this *pbh* cannot be accepted for three reasons. Firstly, its purpose is served by some other *sūtras;* and as such it is rendered purposeless. Secondly, there is no *jñāpaka sūtra* available for it. And lastly, it is neither stated nor even suggested or indicated by the *Bhāṣyakāra*[45].

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[44] See n.31 above.

[45] Read Nāgeśa's explanation and discussion in his *Pbh.* 122.

57. The last thing to be noted in connection with *anubandhas* has reference to the word *upadeśa.* P has laid down that a nasalised vowel or a final consonant etc. in an *upadeśa* should be considered *it* (or *anubandha*) and be dropped. He has not, however, defined the term *upadeśa.* It has been explained by Bh rather broadly in the compound expression *ādyoccāraṇam.* But this explanation is not quite conclusive and helpful, because the exact signification of the word *ādya* therein is rather uncertain. The *Kāśikā*[46] has explained the word *upadeśa* as *śāstravākyāni* which is further explained as *sūtrapāṭhaḥ khilapāṭhaś ca.* (But even here the question remains as to what is to be understood by the term *khila*). A more detailed explanation of the term *upadeśa* has been given in a traditional couplet (*prācīnakārikā*) :

> *dhātusūtragaṇoṇādivākyaliṅgānuśāsanam /*
> *āgamapratyayādeśā upadeśāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / /*

Here it must be noted that Bh (in his *PM*) has refuted this description of the term *upadeśa* as being hardly correct and logical[47]. But it may be said in its favour that though scientifically less accurate than Bh's explanation (namely *ādyoccāraṇam*), this *kārikā* is in a better position to give the reader a clearer idea of what is meant by the term *upadeśa.* In general it may be said that the term *upadeśa* refers to the *ādyoccāraṇa* as found in the various works such as the *sūtrapāṭha*, the *dhātupāṭha*, the *gaṇapāṭha* (and the *uṇādisūtra*). We have already seen in several places how the *anubandhas* have been purposefully used in the case of roots (in the *dhātupāṭha*), *pratyayas* etc. (in the *sūtrapaṭha*) and also the *prātipadikas* (in the *gaṇa-*

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[46] *Kāśikā* on 1.3.2.

[47] For this criticism read Bh's *Prauḍhamanoramā* on 1.3.3.

pāṭha[48]). We have now to note that even the *uṇādi sūtras* have been referred to by P in his work and the *anubandhas* in those *sūtras* also have similar purposes to serve.

58. The *uṇādisūtras*[49], indeed, present a great problem from various points of view. The work is found to exist in more recensions than one. Moreover systems other than that of P also appear to have their own separate *uṇādisūtrapāṭha*. Authorship of the *uṇādisūtra* (belonging to P's school) is also a matter for a difference of opinion. The *Uṇādisūtra*, therefore, deserves to be subjected to a special study. Here we merely rest satisfied by pointing out that P in his work has referred to the *Uṇādisūtra* several times directly as well as indirectly. Thus in *uṇādayo bahulam* (*PA*.3.3.1) and *tābhyām anyatroṇādayaḥ* (3.b.75) we find a direct reference to and a presupposition of the *uṇādis* (i.e. some work on the *uṇādi* suffixes). Similarly there are several places[50] where P has referred to or mentioned some suffixes which have to be (and actually have been) traced to some work on the *uṇādi* suffixes; and there are at least five[51] cases where P has mentioned for the purposes of his rule, suffixes, which have not been laid down by him at all. In such cases

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[48] According to Pat the *anubandhas* are to be met with in *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *nipāta*, *pratyāhārasūtra*, *pratyaya*, *ādeśa* and *āgama*.

[49] An edition of the *Uṇādisūtra* (*pañcapādī*) is under preparation; and all the relevant problems will be discussed in it at some length.

[50] See 6.2.50;144;4.55;97;7.2.9;3.55. The *pratyayas* actually are: *atha*, *āyya*, *itnu*, *is*, *ka*, *ta*, *tu*, *tha*, *man*, *vi*, *sa*, *sara*, *si*, and *su*.

[51] These suffixes are: *atha* (6.2.144, *Uṇ* 3.116); *āyya* (6.4.55, *Uṇ* 3.96); *is* (6.4.97, *Uṇ* 2.109); *vi* (7.3.85, *Uṇ* 4.54 *kvin*); and *sara* (7.2.9; *Uṇ* 3.70 *saran*).

there can be no doubt that he is referring to some work where the suffix has been laid down; and the commentators have pointed out that the work thus referred to is some *uṇādi* work. It has, therefore, to be assumed that P had before him some work or works dealing with the *uṇādi* suffixes; that he has referred to some one or the other of these works in his own work (the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*) ; and that it is more likely than not that the work thus referred to by him must be on a par with the the work thus referred to by him must be on a par with the their relation to P's work and the *Pāṇinīya vyākaraṇa.*

59. Some points have, however, to be noted here as regards the relation between P. and the *Uṇādi-sūtras* (as we find them included in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita). It has been admitted by all that at least so far as the *uṇādi* expressions are concerned, P holds what is called the *avyutpatti-pakṣa* and is not much in favour of and has not laid down rules for their derivation. The *uṇādi* expressions are underivable words (cf. *uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni*[52]). Secondly, there is at least one *uṇādi sūtra* which is at variance with P's teaching and has been accepted by commentators as authoritative[53]. This may perhaps be interpreted as indicating that the author of the *uṇādi sūtras* is not the same as that of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* But even if this view is accepted (and there appears to be some truth also in it), there can be no doubt that P had before him some work dealing with the derivation of some words or expressions which according to P are *avyutpannāni prātipadikāni.* It is not, however, quite easy to identify it with certainty. For there are several works which are designated *Uṇādisūtra,*

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[52] *Pbh* 22.

[53] *gatikārakopapadayoḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvam/Uṇ* 4.226, on which Bh writes: *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt* (6.2.139) *ity uttarapadaprkṛtisvaratve prāpte tadapavādārtham idam/*

which differ from one another in extent; and apparently belong to different schools. A cursory perusal of these works shows that they have several words and even *sūtras* in common and further that, in spite of the difference in the wording as also the order of their *sūtras*, they have laid down almost identical derivations. The main point common to all these works is that they all appear to have based their derivation on the basis of the sound element (of the words concerned) rather than the sense or senses conveyed by them. P, on the other hand, appears to have taken into account both these elements; for he hardly lays down any *pratyaya* (or derivation) without at the same time mentioning the sense conveyed thereby. It may be interesting to study the development of *vyutpatti* (or *nirukti*) right from the *Brāhmaṇas* (or perhaps even earlier works) where it seems to have attained some importance and played a very prominent part down to P (or even later authorities) in whose hands it seems to have attained the maturity and the status of a science. It may be even more interesting perhaps to compare it with modern linguistic science, so far as its etymological aspect is concerned. But this being a vast subject must be left for some other occasion. Here it may only be remarked that the *Uṇādi sūtras* would appear to represent a stage in the development of the *vyutpattiśāstra* which is inferior and hence anterior to P, who appears to have brought it almost to perfection by laying equal stress on and attaching equal importance to both the elements (namely sound and sense) of language.

60. Another point revealed by even a casual perusal of the *Uṇādi sūtras* is that several of the *pratyayas* enjoined in them appear to be phonetically identical with the *pratyayas* enjoined by P. But perhaps even more important is the fact that the *Uṇādi sūtras* evince the use of the mute letters or

anubandhas which are identical with those used by P. In fact the *anubandhas* would appear to serve also the same purposes as they do in the Pāṇinian system. There are, however, certain cases where the *anubandhas* in the *Uṇādi-sūtras* do not serve the purpose which they are expected to serve (and are actually seen to serve) in P's system. This is often the case as regards accentuation[54]. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to study in details the *anubandhas* occurring in the *Uṇādi sūtras* particularly as regards their functions and compare the same with the *anubandhas* and their functions in P's system. Such a study evidently is beyond the scope of the present work. We have, however, sufficient ground to hold that P himself does not attach much importance to the *anubandhas* in the *Uṇādi sūtra.* For, whenever he has referred to an *uṇādi pratyaya* — and this he has done in about a dozen places — he has dropped the *anubandhas* altogether and mentioned the *pratyayas* pure and simple as they appear in the actual language. This may perhaps be accounted for by the well-known fact that P holds all these words to be *aryutpannāni prātipadikāni.* (Cf. *Pbh* 22: *uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni*).

61. This general survey of the *anubandhas,* we believe is enough to give a clear idea of the importance of the *anubandhas* in the Pāṇinian system of Sanskrit grammar and incidentally raise certain problems demanding special and particular attention. The following pages contains a detailed study of each and every letter of the *Devanāgarī* alphabet that has been used by P as *anubandha* in his work. All the *anubandha* letters are thus subjected to a detailed and systematic study in the alphabetical order. Under every (*anubandha*)

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[54] These will be pointed out and discussed in the annotations, in our edition of the *Uṇādi-sūtra.*

letter is given first of all a general statement regarding the use of that particular letter showing where and in how many cases it has been used. This is followed by a statement giving in details the purpose or purposes served by the *anubandha* in P's work; and illustrations are also given, along with appropriate references to P's work (with the *Kāśikā*) where these illustrations are met with. Finally is given a complete list of all the *pratyayas* (*kṛt, taddhita, vikaraṇa, strī, sup, tiṅ,* etc.), *āgamas, ādeśas, saṁjñās, samāsāntas* etc. which have been capped by P with that particular *anubandha* letter (along with some other letter or letters in some cases). In this list the *pratyayas* etc. are given in their alphabetical order and an attempt is made to give as much information as possible about each one of them along with illustrations and references to P's work. The roots and the *prātipadikas* having the particular letter for *anubandha* could not be included in these lists for obvious reasons. But the information given in the previous part would, it is hoped, be enough to serve the purpose. For details in these respects constant reference will, of course, have to be made to the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Gaṇapāṭha* and even the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which surely cannot be replaced by a work like this, howsoever detailed and exhaustive it might be.

62. This detailed study of P's *anubandhas* is followed by three Indexes comprising Part III of the work. In the first Index are given in their alphabetical order all the *pratyayas* etc. together with their *anubandhas* as given by P. The arrangement here is the same as that adopted in the lists given in Part II; and references are given to *PA,* but not the illustrations as they can be easily found out from the lists in Part II. Index II gives all such *pratyayas* etc. as have been used by P without any *anubandha*. Here are also included *pratyayas* etc. which have been used by P without their *anu-*

bandhas for the sake of brevity, though otherwise and ordinarily they are mentioned and referred to by their *sānubandhaka* form only. In such cases, of course, references are given to places where they are so mentioned. Thus, it is hoped, that these two Indexes together will form a complete list of all the *pratyayas* etc. noted by P in his work, with or without the *anubandha* letter or letters. The third Index may be called the *Reverse Index,* because it is just the reverse of Index I (and Index II). For whereas this latter Index gives the metalinguistic forms in the alphabetical order together with their corresponding actual or linguistic forms, Index III gives in their alphabetical order the actual forms of all the *pratyayas* etc. from the first (and also the second) Index and shows the corresponding metalinguistic form or forms for the same as used by P. These three Indexes together, it is believed, would be of great utility to a student who wants to study the formation of words in Sanskrit language Vedic or classical; and may enable a student of *ṚV* to understand and estimate the utility of P's work in Vedic exegesis.

63. It has, however, to be noted that P has in his work given us more than a hundred *sūtras* technically known as the *nipātanasūtras*. He has in these *sūtras* noticed quite a number of words, which he thought were not amenable to ordinary general rules. He, therefore, thought it expedient to enumerate all such words as only special formations which were irregular in some aspect or the other. More than a hundred of these *nipātana* words belong to Vedic literature. It is evident that these words are to be accepted as they are; and no special attempt is made by P to find out a grammatical explanation or derivation for any one of them. But on the whole it should be possible — at least theoretically — to explain all the other Vedic words both as regards their formation and accentuation

on the basis of P's work[55]. But this it may not be possible to do unless P's work is subjected to a searching scrutiny and study in all its aspects. The present work is one such attempt with reference to the *anubandhas*, which in due course may be followed by similar studies of other topics according to P's grammar.

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[55] Of course, supplemented by two other works namely the *Phiṭsūtra* of Śāntanavācārya and the *Uṅādi-sūtra* (of Śākaṭāyana?) in addition to the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana.

PART II

ANUBANDHAS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

(A Detailed Study)

II

ANUBANDHAS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

(A Detailed Study)

a

Mute *a* has been attached as *anubandha* in the case of roots in the *Dhātupāṭha,* the consonants (of the *Devanāgarī* alphabet) in the *Śiva-sūtras* and also in the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

In the last mentioned two works, the presence of the vowel *a* is meant for ease of pronunciation; and cannot, therefore, be designated *anubandha* in the strictly technical sense of the term. P has, for example, used *ka* (7.3.44), *kha* (in *khopadha* 4.2.141), *gha* (8.2.34), *tha* (8.2.35) etc. to stand for the simple consonants *k, kh, gh, th* etc. without any vowel. In the *Śiva-sūtras* also all the consonants (of the alphabet) have been mentioned with the vowel *a* attached to them. Commenting on *Śivasūtra* 6 (*laṇ*), the *Kāśikā* remarks: *hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārtho na tv anubandhaḥ/lakāre tv anunāsikaḥ/* This shows that *a* in *Śiva-sūtra* 6 (*laṇ*) alone is traditionally considered as an *anubandha* and its utility is to form the *pratyāhāra ra* singling out the group of the two consonants *r* and *l*. This *pratyāhāra,* we are told, is used by P in the *sūtra, ur aṇ raparaḥ* (1.1.51). This view, however, is not accepted by all.

In the case of roots, mute *a* (*anunāsika*) is said to have been used as *anubandha* in two different ways, namely *anudātta* and *svarita.* Whether *a* in a root is *anudātta, svarita* or *anunāsika* is to be judged from oral tradition only, which has not been handed down in script. The presence of the *anud. anun. a* in a root indicates that the root takes *ātm.* endings (1.3.12); while the *svarita anun. a* indicates that the root takes endings of both the *padas.* Thus, e.g. *edha* (√*edh*) and *vasa* (√*vas*): *edhate, vaste;* but *yaja* (√*yaj*) and *vaha* (√*vah*): *yajati* or *yajate*; *vahati* or *vahate.* In the case of these latter illustrations it is to be further observed that *ātm.* forms are to be used when the result of the action denoted by the root is meant to accrue to the agent himself (*ātman*) and *parasm.* forms are to be used when it is to go to some one else (*para*) (1.3.72).

In the case of roots *katha* etc. (a sub-class within cl.X), the final *a* is not to be considered as an *anubandha*. It is rather an integral part of the root, though in actual language this *a* is never heard. The purpose served by this *a* is that it deprives the radical vowel (of the root) of its penultimate position and thus prevents it from taking *vṛddhi.* Hence *katha* (√*kath*) – *kathayati;* but *taḍa* (*Vtaḍ*) – *tāḍayati*

It may here be observed that what has been said so far about the indications of mute *a* in a root may be said to hold good in the case of other vowels also when used as mute and attached to a root. This is shown by the fact that P in the relevant *sūtras* has used the word *anudātta* and *svarita* alone without making any specific reference to any vowel in particular. (cf. *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam,* 1.3.12; and *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale,* 1.3.72). The other vowels, however, have some other purposes also to serve in addition to the indication of the *pada* which, to be more accurate, must be said to be the purpose served by the accent rather than the vowel.

ā

Mute *ā* has been used as *anubandha* with roots only; and is placed at the end. At times some other *anubandha* letter or letters are used along with it. But in that case they are always placed at the beginning: *ñimidā* (√*mid*), *ñikṣvidā* (√*kṣvid*), where *ñi* (as a whole) is *anubandha* according to 1.3.5.

The presence of the *anubandha ā* in the case of roots indicates:—

i. That such roots do not take the augment *iṭ* (*i*) before *niṣṭhā* (*kta* and *ktavatu*): *ñimidā* + *kta* (or *ktavatu*) = *minna* (or *minnavat*) (7.2.16)

ii. That such roots take the augment *iṭ* (*i*) optionally when the word formed with the addition of *niṣṭhā* denotes *bhāva* or *ādikarma*: *minnam* (*anena*) or *meditam* (*anena*), where *minnam* and *meditam* signify *bhāva* or *ādikarma* (7.2.17).

i

Mute *i* has been used an *anubandha* with roots as well *pratyayas* and is placed always at the end. In the case of roots this *anubandha* is not to be confounded with *ir,* which (as a whole) is a different *anubandha* by itself (q.v.). P has used the presence as well as the absence of this *anubandha* in the case of roots to indicate certain modifications in the roots concerned. For doing this he has used the terms *idit* and *anidit* respectively.

The absence of mute *i* in a root indicates that such a root, if it ends in a consonant, drops its penultimate *n* (nasal) before *kit* and *ṅit pratyayas*: *sraṁsu* (√*sraṁs*) + *yak* (*ya* of Passive) + *te* = *srasyate*: √*sraṁs* + *yaṅ* (*ya* of *Intens.*) + *te* = *sanīsrasyate* (6.4.24).

The presence of mute *i* (only when it stands at the end of a root in its metalinguistic form) indicates that such a root takes the *āgama num* (*n*) before all *pratyayas*: *kuḍi* (√*kuḍ*) + *tṛ, tum, tavya, ā* = *kuṇḍitṛ, kuṇḍitum, kuṇḍitavya, kuṇḍā* (7.1.58). Mute *i* not standing at the end is, however, meant only to facilitate pronunciation (i.e. is only *uccāraṇārtha*) as in the case of roots like *cakṣiṅ* (√*cakṣ*). For a discussion regarding this point see Pat. *MB* on 1.3.7.

In the case of *pratyayas,* mute *i* is found to stand at the end or at times to occupy the penultimate position: *vini, ini; kvanip, vanip,* etc. In such cases it is used only for ease of pronunciation, particularly in cases where it is followed by a consonant, as for example, in *manin,* and *kvanip.*

In such cases it naturally occupies the penultimate position. But in some cases *uccāraṇārtha i* may stand at the end also. Thus *i* at the end of *cli* (in 3.1.43) and *ti* (in 3.4.107) is *uccāraṇārtha,* according to the *Kāśikā.* But when *i* stands at the end, it often serves to save the consonant before it from being an *it* or mere *anubandha*. Thus if *i* of *vini* is not used, and the *pratyaya* is given as *vin*, the final *n*, being an *antyaṁ hal* would be an *it*, (according to 1.3.3) and will have to be dropped. This is avoided by the final *anubandha* ***i***. This is stated by commentators in the words: *ikārastu nakāraparitrāṇārthaḥ*.

Another purpose served by the final mute *i* has been noticed by the ***Kāśikā*** on 3.1.33 stating that *i* (in *tāsi*) is meant to prevent the dropping of the nasal (cf. *iditkaraṇam anunāsikalopapratiṣedhārtham*) in forms like *mantā* and *saṅgantā;* for owing to *i* in *tāsi*, the *aṅga* before the suffix becomes *idit*.

idit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

asi	: *tad*	: *as*
		: to *pūrva*, *adhara*, *avara* which are then substituted by *pur*, *adh*, *av* respectively: *puraḥ*, *adhaḥ*, *avaḥ* (5.3.39)
astāti	: *tad*	: *astāt*
		: to *dik-śabdas* (words signifying directions) in the sense of nom, abl., loc: *purastāt* etc. (5.3.27;40); *avastāt* or *avarastāt* (5.3.41)
āti	: *tad*	: *āt*
		: to *uttara*, *adhara*, *dakṣiṇa* : *uttarāt*, *adharāt*, *dakṣiṇāt* (5.3.34).
kvi	: ***kṛt***	: — = *v* (dropped acc.6.1.67).
		: See under *k*.

ini : *kṛt* : *in*

: to *pra* + √*jū*; and also to *vi* + √*ḳrī* when compounded with a word in the accusative : *prajavain* (3.2.156); *somavikrayin* (3.2.93)

: *tad* : *in*

: to various words in different senses: *pāṇḍuḳambalin*, *ḳarmandin*, *śrāddhin*, etc. (4.2.11;51;62;5.2.85;etc)

gmini : *tad* : *gmin*

: to *vāc*; *vāggmin* (5.2.124).

ṅasi : *sup* : *as* (of abl.sg.).

: to a *prātipadiḳa* : *dṛṣad* + *as* = *dṛṣadaḥ* (4.1.2).

cvi : *tad* : *v* (dropped acc.6.1.67).

: See under *c*.

jasi : *sup* : *as* (of nom. plr.).

: to a *prātipadiḳa* : *dṛṣad* + as = *dṛṣadaḥ* (4.1.2;31)

ṇini : *kṛt* : — ± *in*

: *tad* : ± — *in*

: see under *ṇ*

ṇvi : *kṛt* : — ± *v* (dropped acc.6.1.67).

: see under *ṇ*

tasi : *tad* : *tas*

: to various words : *himavattaḥ*, *urastaḥ*, *madhyataḥ*, etc. (4.3.113)

tāsi	*vik*	*tās*	to roots to form Fut.pers.forms : √*kṛ* – *kartā* (3.1.33) etc.
vati	*tad*	*vat*	to words to express similarity and several other senses : *putravat, ṛṣivat, udvat* (5.1.115-118)
vini	*tad*	*vin*	to words ending in *as,* and the words *māyā, medhā,* and *sraj* : *tapasvin, māyāvin, medhāvin,* and *sragvin* (5.2.102; 121)

ir

Mute *ir* (as a whole) is used as *anubandha* with roots only and is placed always at the end. It is to be distinguished from *i* (q.v.).

The presence of the *anubandha ir* in a root indicates that after such a root *cli* (Aor.sign) is optionally substituted by *aṅ* (=*a*): bhidir (√*bhid*)—*abhidat, abhaitsīt* (3.1.57).

ī

Mute *ī* has been used as *anubandha* with roots only and is placed always at the end. In some cases, some other letter or letters have been used as *anubandha* along with *ī*. They are naturally placed at the beginning as in *olajī, ovijī*.

The presence of mute *ī* in a root indicates that such a root does not take the augment *iṭ* (=*i*) when followed by ***niṣṭhā*** (***kta, ktavatu***); *olajī* (√*laj*) + ***kta*** = *lagna; ovijī* (√*vij*) + ***kta*** = *vigna* (7.2.14).

u

Mute *u* has been used as *anubandha* with roots, with the letters *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p*, and also with *pratyayas* of various kinds. In all these, it always stands at the end. In the former, the mute *u* is used by itself without any other *anubandha* letter along with it; but with some of the *pratyayas*, a second *anubandha* consonant is used; and it is always placed at the end (i.e. after *u*).

The presence of mute *u* in the case of roots indicates that after such roots *ḳtvā* (= *tvā* of the Absolutive) takes the augment *iṭ* (= *i*) optionally: *śamu* (√*śam*) + *ḳtvā* = *śamitvā*, *śāntvā; damu* (√*dam*) + *ḳtvā* = *damitvā* or *dāntvā* (7.2.56).

Mute *u* affixed to *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* gives us the *saṁjñās* *ku*, *cu*, *ṭu*, *tu* and *pu* which stand for the homogeneous consonants of the respective classes (1.1.69).

In the case of *pratyayas* the presence of mute *u* indicates that a stem, formed by appending such a *pratyaya*, takes the augment *num* (*n*) before the *sarvanāmasthāna* endings. This applies also to crude words (or *prātipadiḳas*) that are given in the *sūtrapāṭha* or in the *gaṇapāṭha* with a mute *u* attached to them: *dhanavat* (*dhana* + *matup*) — *dhanavān* etc; *bhavat* (*bhuvatu*, included in *dvyādigaṇa*, which is an *antargaṇa* of the *sarvādigaṇa*, 1.1.27) — *bhavān* etc. (7.1.10).

Secondly, formations in *atu* (i.e. having the suffixes *ḍavatu*, *ktavatu* and *matup* appended to them), lengthen their penultimate before *su* (*s*) of the nom. sg: *bhavān*, *ḳṛtavān*, *gomān* (6.4.14).

In some cases, however, *u* is meant merely to facilitate pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*) or perhaps for distinction (*viśeṣa*-

ṇārtha). Thus *u* in *sīyuṭ* is *uccāraṇārtha* (see the *Kāśikā* on 3.4. 102). Similarly on 4.1.2, the *Kāśikā* remarks: *ukārādayo'nubandhā yathāyogamuccāraṇaviśeṣaṇārthāḥ*. In cases like *thamu* it is *makāra-paritrāṇartha* (*Kāśikā* on 5.3.24).

udit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

amu : *tad* : *am*
: to *tara* and *tama* added to *kim*, words ending in *e*, finite verbs, and indeclinables (instead of *ām*) in the Veda: *prataram* (or *pratarām*) etc. (5.4.12).

asuṅ : *ād* : *as*
: See under *ṅ*

āmu : *tad* : *ām*
: to *tara* and *tama* applied to *kim* etc. (see *amu* above): *kiṁtarām, pūrvāhṇetarām, pacatitarām, uccaistarām, kiṁtamām*, etc. (5.4.11).

īyasun : *tad* : —′ — *īyas*
: See under *n*

ku : *saṁ* : for letters of the *kavarga* (1.1.69).

ktavatu : *kṛt* : — = *tavat*
: See under *k*

kvasu : *kṛt* : — = *vas*
: See under *k*

cu : *saṁ* : for letters of the *cavarga* (1.1.69)
: abbreviated designation for *añcati* with *n* dropped (*cf*. *cāv ity añcatir luptanakāro gṛhyate*/*Kāśikā* on 6.1.222;3.138)

ṭu : *saṁ* : for letters of the *ṭavarga* (1.1.69)

ḍmatup : *tad* : *mat*
: See under *ḍ*.

tu : *saṁ* : for letters of the *tavarga* (1.1.69)

thamu : *tad* : *tham*
: to *idam* and *kim* to express manner: *idam* + *thamu* = *it* + *tham* (5.3.4) = *ittham* (5.3.24); *kim* + *thamu* = *ka* + *tham* (5.3.2) = *katham* (5.3.25).

matup : *tad* : *mat*
: See under *p*

ru : *ād* : *r*
: for the final letter of a *pada* ending in *s*, and of *sajuṣ* : *agnis* + *atra* = *agnir atra; sajūṣ* + *devebhiḥ* = *sajūr devebhiḥ* (8.2.66) etc.

vatup : *tad* : *vat*
: See under *p*

vasu = *kvasu* : *vas* (7.1.36; 2.67; etc.)

su : *sup* : *s* (of nom. sg.)
: to a *prātipadika*: *deva* + *s*=*devaḥ* (4.1.2)

ū

Mute *ū* has been used as *anubandha* with roots only and is placed always at the end.

The presence of mute *ū* indicates that the *ārdha. pratyayas* beginning with any consonant except *v,* applied to such roots, optionally take the augment *iṭ* (=*i*) : *gāhū* (√*gāh*) + *tās* + *ḍā* = *gāḍhā* or *gāhitā* (with *iḍāgama*); *gupū* (√*gup*) + *tās* + *ḍā* = *goptā* or *gopitā* (with *iḍāgama*) [7,2,44] (for *sārva.* and *ārdha. pratyayas* see 3.4.114 ff.).

ṛ (and *u* also)

Mute *ṛ* has been used as *anubandha* with roots and also with several *pratyayas* and *prātipadikas*. With roots it always stands at the end. With *pratyayas* and *prātipadikas* it is used at times only by itself and stands at the end (as in *tṛ*); or at times it is used along with some other *anubandha* (letter) placed immediately after it (as in *atṛn*); or sometimes with some other *anubandha* (letter) prefixed to the *pratyaya* (as in *śatṛ*). The other mute letters used along with *ṛ* as *anubandhas* have their own purposes which are explained and illustrated in their proper places. Here we note the purposes served by mute *ṛ*.

The presence of mute *ṛ* in the case of a root indicates that such a root does not shorten its penultimate before *ṇi* (causal) followed by *caṅ* (substitute for *cli*, Aor. sign): *bādhṛ* (√*bādh*)-*ababādhat; yācṛ* (√*yāc*) — *ayayācat* (7.4.2).

The presence of mute *ṛ* in the case of *pratyayas* (and not roots) indicates that a word formed by adding such a *pratyaya* takes the augment *num* (= *n*) before the *sarvanāmasthāna* suffixes (i.e. the first five case endings): *pacat* (√*pac* + *śap* + *śatṛ*) — *pacan, pacantau*, etc. (7.1.10); *pakvavat* (√*pac* + *ktavatu*) — *pakvavān* etc.

There are, however, the following exceptions and restrictions to this general rule:—

i. *śatṛ* (=*at* of the Pr. Part.) coming after a reduplicated base does not take the *āgama num*: *dadat* (√*dā* + *śatṛ*) — *dadat, dadatau*, etc. (7.1.78).

ii. The same holds good in the case of the roots *śās*, *jakṣ*, *cakās*, *daridrā*, *jāgṛ*, *dīdhī* and *vevī*, which are technically designated *abhyasta* (6.1.6): *jāgrat*, *jāgratau*, etc. (7.1.78).

iii. A *śatṛ* formation in neut. in the case of *abhyasta* bases (6.1.5f) takes the augment *num* (*n*) optionally: *dadat* (*neut.*) — *dadati* or *dadanti* (7.1.79).

iv. A *śatṛ* formation takes the augment *num* (=*n*) optionally after a base ending in *a* or *ā* when followed by *śī* (=*ī* of neut. nom. and acc.du.) and *ī* (of the fem.): √*tud-tudatī* or *tudantī* (neut); *tudatī* or *tudantī* (fem.); so also √*yā- yātī* or *yāntī; karişyatī* or *karişyantī* (fem. and neut.) (7.1.80).

v. This option (No. iv above) does not apply to bases formed by the addition of *śap* and *śyan* (i.e. roots of cl. I and cl. IV): √*pac-pacantī* (only); √*div-dīvyantī* (only) (7.1.81).

It may be observed that P has used the term *ugit* to refer to *pratyayas* etc. having *uk* (*i,u,ṛ,ḷ*) for *anubandha* and laid down two rules in common for all such *pratyayas* etc.:—

i) *ugit* words or formations form their feminine by adding *ṅīn* (*ī*): *pacat.* (√*pac* + *śatṛ*)—*pacantī; bhavat* (*bhavatu* in *sarvādigaṇa*)—*bhavatī* (4.1.6)

ii) ***ugit nadī*** formations shorten their final vowel optionally before *tarap* (*tara*) and *tamap* (*tama*): *śreyasī* + *tara* + *āp* = *śreyasitarā, śreyasītarā* (6.3.45)

ṛdit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

atṛn	*kṛt*	—′ — *at* see under *n*
tṛ	*ād*	*t* for *arvan* before all *sup pratyayas* except *su* (of nom. sg.): *arvantau, arvataḥ, arvadbhih* (6.4.127)
śatṛ	*kṛt*	*at* see under *ś*.

ḷ

Mute *ḷ* has been used as *anubandha* with roots only and is placed always at the end.

The presence of mute *ḷ* in a root indicates that such a root, if it belongs to the *parasm,* substitutes *aṅ* for *cli* (Aor. sign): *gamḷ* (√*gam*)- *agamat; śakḷ* (√*śak*)-*aśakat* (3.1.55).

e

Mute *e* has been used as *anubandha* with roots only and is placed always at the end.

The presence of mute *e* in a root indicates that such a root does not take *vṛddhi* before *sic* (substitute for *cli*) with the *augment iṭ* (=*i*): *rage* (√*rag*)—*aragīt; kakhe* (√*kakh*)—*akakhīt* (7.2.5). (It is to be noted here that in these forms *s* of *sic* is dropped according to 8.2.28).

o

Mute *o* has been used as *anubandha* with roots only. In cases where it is placed at the beginning it is accompanied by a second *anubandha* letter which is naturally kept at the end as in *olajī* (√*laj*), *ovijī* (√*vij*). Otherwise mute *o* is placed at the end as in *rujo* (√*ruj*). Moreover roots Nos. 24-36 of cl. IV are declared to be *odit,* though actually they are not capped with a mute *o* in the *Dhātupāṭha.*

The presence of mute *o* in a root indicates that after it, the *t* of *niṣṭhā* (*kta, ktavatu*) is changed to *n*:*ovijī* (√*vij*)—(*ud*)*vigna; ṣūṅ* (√*sū*)—*sūna* (8.2.45); *rujo* (√*ruj*)—*rugṇa.*

k

Mute *k* has been used with *āgamas*, *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadātuka pratyayas*, and *kṛt*, *taddhita* and other kinds of *pratyayas*. In several cases it stands at the beginning (as per 1.3.6); but often it stands even at the end. Among the *āgamas* one (*sak*) has the vowel *a* prefixed to *k*; while four (namely *yak*, *nik*, *rik* and *rīk*) have only *k* for their *anubandha*. About 20 suffixes have *uk* at the end; and the vowel *u* in these cases (and also the vowel *i* in several other cases) is evidently for case of pronunciation. *Kit sārva* and *ārdha pratyayas* are 40 in all. Of these only two (*yak* and *ṭhak*) have *k* at the end. All the rest have *k* at the beginning; and 26 among these have some other letter used as a second *anubandha*, which is placed at the end. The letters thus used are *n* (8 times), *c* (5 times), *p* (thrice), *ḍ* and (*i*) *p* (twice each), (*u*)*l*, (*u*)*n*, *ṅ*, *ṣ*, (*i*)*n*, and *ñ* (once each). The vowels in all these cases are more for ease of pronunciation than for any other purpose.

All the 13 *kṛt pratyayas*, with the exception of one (*ḍhinuk*), have simple *k* (without any vowel behind it) as *anubandha* placed at the end. The vowel *u* in the case of *ḍhinuk* is only for ease of pronunciation. In seven of these *pratyayas*, the letters *ṭh*, *ḍh*, *ph* and *v* have been used; and they are to be substituted by *ika*, *ey*, *ạ̄yan* and *ak* respectively. Thus *ḍhinuk* divested of its *anubandha* means *ḍhin* which after proper substitution comes to *eyin*. One *pratyaya* has a second *anubandha* letter (*ṣ*) which is naturally placed at the beginning. This *pratyaya* is *ṣphak* which ultimately means *āyana*.

The purposes served by the other mute letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. Here we shall note only those served by *k*. Before that, however, we have to note that there are certain *pratyayas* that have the *anubandha k* and yet are not to be considered as being *kit* or are to be so considered only optionally. Conversely there are some other *pratyayas* which do not have the *anubandha k* and yet are to be considered as being *kit*. These we note below under three heads:—

(A) *Pratyayas* having the *anubandha k,* but not to be considered *kit*:—

i) *ktvā* (*seṭ*): *devitvā* (√*div*); *vartitvā* (√*vṛt*) (1.2.18)

ii) *kta, ktavat* (both *seṭ*) after roots *śī, svid, mid, kṣvid* and *dṛś*:*śayita, śayitayat,* etc. (1.2.19); after √*mṛṣ* (to suffer): *marṣita, marṣitavat* (1.2.20); and optionally after roots with penultimate *u*: √*dyut-dyutita, dyotita,* etc. (1.2.21)

iii) All these *pratyayas* after *pū* : *pavita, pavitavat, pavitvā* (1.2.22)

(B) *Pratyayas* to be considered optionally *kit*:—

i) *ktvā* after roots having a penultimate nasal and ending in *th* or *ph*: √*granth*—*grathitvā, granthitvā;* √*gumph* — *guphitvā, gumphitvā* (1.2.23).

ii) *ktvā* after roots *vañc* and *luñc*, and roots ending in *ṛ* (*ṛt*): *vañcitvā, vacitvā; ṛtitvā, artitvā;* etc. (1.2.24)

iii) *ktvā* after roots *tṛṣ, mṛṣ,* and *kṛś*; *tṛṣitvā, tarṣitvā*; etc. (1.2.25).

iv) *liṅ* (Bened.) after √*gam*:*saṁgasīṣṭa, saṁgaṁṣīṣṭa* (1.2.13)

v) *sic* (Aor.) after *upa* + √*yam* : *upāyata, upāyaṁsta* (1.2.16)

(C) *Pratyayas,* not capped with mute *k*, and yet to be considered *kit*:

i) *liṭ* (Pf. personal endings) after a root having no conjunct consonant, and also after √*indh*, √*bhū* : *bibhiduḥ cicchiduḥ, īyuḥ, īdhe, babhūvitha* (1.2.5f).

ii) *ḳtvā* after roots *mṛḍ, mṛd, gudh, ḳup, ḳliś, vad,* and *vas*: *mṛḍitva, mṛditvā,* etc. (1.2.7)

iii) *ḳtvā* and *san* (Desid.) after roots *rud, vid, muṣ, grah, svap,* and *pracch*:*ruditvā, rurudiṣati,* etc. (1.2.8)

iv) *san* (Desid.) after roots ending in *ik* (= *i, u, ṛ* and *ḷ* short or long): cicīṣati, tuṣṭūṣati, etc. (1.2.9); or roots with penultimate *ik* and ending in a consonant: *bibhitsati,* etc. (1.2.10).

v) *liṅ* (Bened.) after roots ending in a consonant and having penultimate *ik*, and also after roots ending in *ṛ* (before *ātm* terminations only): *bhitsīṣṭa, kṛṣīṭa* (1.2.11f).

vi) *sic* (Aor.) after all roots noted above and also after √*han* and √*yam* (to suggest): *abhitta, abuddha, akṛta, āhata, udāyata* (1.2.11f; 14f).

vii) *sic* (Aor.) and *i* (*āḍ*) after √*sthā,* and the roots known as *ghu* (i.e. √*dhā,* √*dā*):*upāsthita, adita, adhita* (1.2.17).

viii) *yāsuṭ* (=*yās āgama*) of the Bened. (*āśiṣi liṅ*) is *kit* and also acute (i.e. the whole *pratyaya* with the *āgama* prefixed to it is *kit* and acute) : *iṣyāt, jāgaryāt* (3.4.104)

Purposes served by the *anubandha k* may be now noted under the following different heads:—

A. Formation of *pratyāhāra*: The *pratyāhāras* thus formed are: *ak* (6.1.101); *ik* (1.1.3); and *uk* (4.1.6)

B. (i) Before *kṛt ḳit pratyayas* there will be neither *guṇa* nor *vṛddhi*: √*stu-stuta, stutavat, stutvā*, etc. (1.1.5)

(ii) Before *taddhita kit pratyayas*:

(a) The first vowel of the base takes *vṛddhi*: *naḍa* + *phak* (i.e. *āyana*) = *nāḍāyana; aḳṣa* + *ṭhaḳ* (i.e. *iḳa*) = *āḳṣiḳa.* (7.2.118).

(b) The formation (i.e. the word thus formed) has the acute on the final syllable: *nāḍāyaná, āḳṣiḳá* (6.1.165)

(iii) A *kit āgama* is to be added at the end of that for which it is enjoined: see the *āgamas yuḳ, riḳ* etc. in the list below (1.1.46)

C. Substitution of roots before *kit pratyayas*:

i) √*ad* is substituted by *jagdh* before *kit pratyayas* beginning with *t*: *jagdha* (2.4.36)

ii) √*dhā* is substituted by *hi* under similar conditions: *hita, hitvā* (7.4.42)

iii) √*hā* is substituted by *hi* before *ḳtvā* optionally in the Veda: *hātvā, hitvā* (7.4.43f)

iv) √*dā* is substituted by *dad* under similar conditions: *datta, dattvā* (7.4.46); and by *t* if it has a prefix ending in a vowel: *pra* + √*dā—pratta;* similarly *avatta, nītta*, etc. (7.4.47).

D. Modifications in the penultimate (*upadhā*):

i) The *upadhā* of a base ending in a nasal is lengthened: √*śam– śānta, śāntavat* (6.4.15)

ii) The *upadhā* of consonantal bases of roots, not having a mute *i*, drops its nasal: √*sraṁs*—*srasta, srasyate* (6.4.24)

iii) The *upadhā* of *śās* is changed to *i* before consonantal *kit pratyayas*: *śiṣṭa, śiṣṭavat* (6.4.34)

iv) The *upadhā* of the roots *gam, han, jan, khan, ghas* is dropped before vowel *kit* terminations: *jagmatuḥ, jagmuḥ* etc. (6.4.98).

v) The *upadhā* of √*tan* and √*pat* is dropped in the Veda before vowel *kit pratyayas*: *vitatnire, paptima* (6.4.99)

vi) The *upādhā* of √*ghas* and √*bhas* is dropped before all *kit pratyayas*: *sagdhi, babdhām, bapsati* (6.4.100)

E. Other modifications in roots:

i) Several roots such as *vac, svap, yaj,* etc. and the roots *grah, jyā* etc. undergo *samprasāraṇa* before all *kit pratyayas*: *ukta, supta, gṛhīta, jīna,* etc. (6.1.15f).

ii) √*ve* changes its *v* to *y* optionally before *liṭ* (Pf.) kit *pratyayas*: *ūyatuḥ, ūvatuḥ* (6.1.39)

iii) √*dī* takes *yuṭ* (*āgama*) before vowel *kit pratyayas*: *upadidīye* (6.4.63)

iv) Roots *jvar, tvar, śriv* and *av* substitute *ū* for *va* before *jhalādi kit pratyayas*: *jūḥ, jūtiḥ* etc. (6.4.20)

v) The roots *tūrv, dhūrv,* etc. drop their *v* before *repha* (= *r*): *tūḥ, dhūḥ,* (6.4.21).

vi) The final *v* is changed to *ūṭh* (=*ū*) before *jhalādi kit pratyayas*: √*div*- *dyūta,* (6.4.19)

vii) √*kṛ* changes its *a* (i.e. in *kar*) to *u* before *sārva. kit pratyayas*: *kurutaḥ, kurvanti* (6.4.110)

viii) *śna* (*vik* of cl. VII) and √*as* drop their *a* before *sārva. kit pratyayas*: √*rudh– runddhaḥ, rundhanti;* √*as-staḥ, santi* (6.4.111)

ix) Before *yakārādi kit pratyayas*, √*śī* changes its *ī* to *ay*: *śayyate* (7.4.22); √*ūh* (when having a prefix) shortens its *ū*: *abhyuhyate* (7.4.23); roots ending in *ṛ* change their *ṛ* to *rī* before an *akṛt asārv. yakārādi pratyaya*: *cekrīyate* (7.4.27)

x) *iṇ* (=√*i*) is lengthened before *liṭ kit pratyayas*: *īyatuḥ, īyuḥ* (7.4.69).

F. Other changes or modifications in the base:—

i) Bases ending in *ā* drop their final *ā* before *ārdh. kit pratyayas*: √*pā* + *atuḥ* = *papatuḥ* (6.4.64)

ii) The final *ā* of roots *gā, sthā, mā, pā, sā, hā* and *ghu* (i.e. √*dā*, √*dhā*) has the *ādeśa ī* before *halādi kit pratyayas*: *gīyate, mīyate, dīyate*, etc. (6.4.66).

iii) The bases of roots *do, so, mā* and *sthā* change their vowel to *i* before *kit pratyayas* beginning with *t*: *nirdita, avasita, mita, sthita* (7.4.40); while √*śo* and √*cho* do it optionally: *niśita* or *niśāta; avacchita* or *avacchāta* (7.4.41).

iv) Before *akṛt asārv, yakārādi kit pratyayas* the final vowel of the base is lengthened: *cīyate, sukhāyate*, etc. (7.4.25); while √*ī* shortens it: *anviyāt*, etc. (7.4.24).

v) Before *jhalādi kit pratyayas,* the roots *san, jan,* and *khan* take the *ādeśa ā*: *jāta, jāti* etc. (6.4.42); but this *ādeśa* is optional before *yakārādi kit pratyayas*: *janyate* or *jāyate* (6.4.43). Roots *han, van, tan* etc. and the *anudāttopadeśa* roots drop their nasal before *jhalādi kit pratyayas*: *hatvā, hata, hatavat,* etc. (6.4.37).

vi) (a) *ghu* (= √*dā*, √*dhā*) and √*as* take the *ādeśa e* before *hi* (Impv. 2nd sg.); and the former also drop their *abhyāsa*:*edhi, dehi dhehi* (6.4.119) (b) before *liṭ kit pratyayas* the roots, which have *a* between two single consonants, drop their *abhyāsa* (if unchanged), and change their *a to e*: √*yam yematuḥ, yemuḥ*, etc. (6.4.120); (e) also before *thal* (*seṭ*) i.e. *tha* of Pf.2nd sg: *yemitha* (6.4.121); (d) this change takes place also in the case of the roots *tṛ, phal*, etc.: *teratuḥ*, etc., *aparedhatuḥ*, etc.; and optionally in the case of the roots *jṝ*, *bhram*, etc.: *jajaruḥ* or *jeruḥ* (6.4.122-125); (e) this change does not take place in the case of the roots *śas*, *dad* and also the roots beginning with *v* : *viśaśasuḥ*, *dadadāte*, *vavamuḥ*, etc. (6.4.126).

vii) √*śri* and roots ending in *u* and *ṛ* (*uk*) do not take the *āgama iṭ* (*i*) before *kit pratyayas*:*śrita, yuta, lūna, vṛta, tīrṇa* etc. (7.2.11).

kit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):

aduk	: *āg*	: *ad*
		: to *eka* before *na* etc.: *ekānnaviṁśati* etc. (6.3.76)
asuk	: *āg*	: *as*
		: to *jasi* (nom.plr.) after words ending in *a* in the Veda: *brāhmaṇāsaḥ* (7.1.50)
āduk : see *aduk*.		
ānuk	: *āg*	: *ān*
		: to *indra, varuṇa*, etc. before *ṅīṣ*(*ī*): *indrāṇī*, etc. (4.1.46).
ārak	: *tad*	: ± — *ārá*
		: to *godhā*: *gaudhāra* (4.1.130)

ithuk	: *āg*	: *ith*
		: to *vat* formations before *ḍaṭ*: *yāvatitha*, etc. (5.2.53)
airak	: *tad*	: ± — *airá*
		: to *caṭakā*:*caṭakaira* (4.1.128)
ka	: *kṛt*	: — = *a*
		: to roots with penultimate *i, u, ṛ, ḷ* and to roots *jñā, prī, kir*: *budha, kṛśa, jña, priya, kira* (3.1.135 etc.)
kak	: *tad*	: ± — *ká*
		: to *varāha* etc.: *vārāhaka*, etc. (4.2.80) etc.
kañ	: *kṛt*	: –' = *a*
		: to √*dṛś* appended to *tyad* etc.: *tādṛśa* etc. (3.2.60)
kadhyai	: *kṛt*	: — = *adhyai*
		: to roots: *āhuvadhyai* (3.4.9)
kadhyain	: *kṛt*	: —' = *adhyai*
		: to roots: *śriyadhyai* (3.4.9)
kap	: *kṛt*	: — =' *a*
		: to √*duh* etc. appended to other words: *kāmadughā* (3.2.70)
	: *sam*	: *ka*
		: to *uras* etc.: see under *p* (5.4.151)
kamul	: *kṛt*	: — =' *am*
		: to roots in the Veda: *apalupam* (3.4.12)

kasen : *kṛt* : —′ = *ase*
: to roots: *śriyase* (3.4.9)

kānac : *ād* : — = *āná*
: for *liṭ* in the Veda: *suṣuvāṇa* (3.2.106)

ki : *kṛt* : — = *i*
: to roots ending in *ā*, *ṛ* and to roots *jan*, *han*, and *gam* in the Veda: *dadi*, *jajñi*, *jaghni*, *jaguri* etc. (3.2.171)

kin : *kṛt* : —′ = *i*
jaghni, *jaguri* etc. (3.2.171)

kuk : *āg* : *k*
: to *vākina* etc. before *phiñ*: *vākinakeya* etc. (4.1.158)

kurac : *kṛt* : — = *urá*
: to roots *vid*, *bhid*, *etc.*: *vidura*, *bhidura*, etc. (3.2.162)

ken : *kṛt* : —′ = *e*
: to roots: *avagāhe* (3.4.14)

kenya : *kṛt* : — = *enya*
: to roots: *didṛkṣeṇya* (3.4.14)

kta : *kṛt* : — = *ta*
: to roots: *kṛta* (1.1.26)

ktavatu : *kṛt* : — = *tavat*
: to roots: *kṛtavat* (1.1.26)

ktic : *kṛt* : — = *tí*
: to roots to form nouns to express blessings: *bhūti*, *manti* etc. (3.3.174)

ktin : *kṛt* : —′ = *ti*

: to roots to form abstract nouns in the sense of a *kāraka* other than the agent: *kṛti, kṣiti* etc. (3.3.94) etc.

ktri : *kṛt* : — = *tri*

: to *ḍvit* roots: *paktrima* (3.3.88)

ktvā : *kṛt* : — = *tvā*

: to roots: *kṛtvā* (1.1.40 etc.)

knu : *kṛt* : — = *nu*

: to roots *tras*, *gṛdh*, etc: *trasnu* etc. (3.2.140)

kmarac : *kṛt* : — = *mará*

: see under *c*.

kya : see *kyac*, *kyaṅ*, *kyaṣ* (1.4.15)

kyaṅ : *rfs.* : — = *ya*

: to words denoting agent to form denom: *haṁsāyate*, (3.1.11) etc.

kyac : *rfs.* : — = *yá*

: see under *c*

ksa : *ād* : — = *sa*

: for *cli* (Aor. sign) after certain *roots*: *alikṣat, adhukṣat* (3.1.45) etc.

kse : *kṛt* : — = *se*

: to roots: *preṣe* (3.4.9)

ksnu : *kṛt* : — = *snu* (This is, in fact, a *git pratyaya*)

: to roots *glā*, *ji*, etc: *glāsnu*, *jiṣṇu*, etc. (3.2.139)

juk:	: *āg*	: *j* : to √*vā* (= to shake) before *ṇi*: *upavājayati* (7.3.38)
ṭak	: *kṛt*	: — = *a* : to roots *gai, pā,* and *han* with an *upapada*: *sāmaga, surāpa, jāyāghna* (3.2.8.; 52; etc.)
ṭuk	: *āg*	: *ṭ* : to *ṇ* before *śar* (= *ś, ṣ, s*): *vaṇṭśete* (8.3.28)
ṭhak	: *tad*	: ± — *iká* : to *revatī* etc: *raivatika* (4.1.146)
ḍhak	: *tad*	: ± — *eyá* : to *maṇḍūka* etc: *māṇḍūkeya* (4.1.119 etc.)
ḍhinuk	: *tad*	: ± — *eyín* : to *chagalin*: *chāgaleyin* (4.3.109)
ḍhrak	: *tad*	: ± — *erá* (or *eyá*) : to *godhā, kṣudrā*, etc. : *gaudhera, gaudheya*: (4.1.129) etc.
tithuk	: *āg*	: *tith* : to *bahu, pūga,* etc. : *bahutitha,* etc. (5.2.52).
tuk	: *āg*	: *t* : to a base ending in a short vowel before a *pit kṛt* : *agnicit, prakṛtya, somasut,* etc. (6.1.71 etc.)

		to a *hrasva* base before *ch*: *icchati,* etc. (6.1.73 etc.)
tyak	*tad*	± — *tyá* to *dakṣiṇā, paścāt* and *puras*: *dākṣiṇātya,* etc. (4.2.98)
thuk	*āg*	*th* to *ṣaṣ, kati, katipaya, catur,* before *ḍat*: *ṣaṣṭha, caturtha* etc. (5.2.51) to √*as* (cl. IV) before *aṅ* (Aor.): *āsthat* (7.4.17)
duk	*āg*	*d* to several words under several circumstances: *anyadartha, kadanna, kadvada* etc. (6.3.99f).
nīk	*āg*	*nī* to roots *vañc, sraṁs,* etc. in their *abhyāsa* before *yaṅ* (Intens.): *vanīvañcīti* (7.4.84)
nuk	*āg*	*n*: to *antarvat, pativat* before *ṅīp*:*antarvatnī, pativatnī* (4.1.32)etc.
puk	*āg*	*p* to roots *ṛ, hrī* etc. before *ṇi*: *arpayati* etc. (7.3.36; etc.)
phak	*tad*	± — *āyaná* to *naḍa* etc: *nāḍāyana* etc. (4.1.99 etc.)

muk : *āg* : *m*
: to *a* base followed by *āna*: *pacamāna* (7.2.82)

yak : *āg* : *ya*
: to *ktvā* in the Veda: *dattvāya* (7.1.47)

: *rfs* : — = *ya*
: to *kaṇḍū* etc. to form denom: *kaṇḍūyati* (3.1.27)

: *kṛt* : — = *ya*
: to roots to form Passive: *gamyate* (3.1.68)

: *ṭad* : ± — *yá*
: to *kūcavāra* and to words ending in *pati* and to *purohita* etc.: *kaucavārya*, *sainapatya*, *paurohitya*, etc. (4.3.94; 5.1.128)

yuk : *āg* : *y*
: to roots ending in *ā* before *ciṇ* (Aor.): *adāyi*.
: to roots *sā*, *dā* etc. before *ṇi*: *sāyayati* etc.
: to roots ending in *ā* before *kṛt pratyayas* having mute *ñ* or *ṇ*: *dāya*, *dāyaka* (7.3.33; 37 etc.)

rik : *āg* : *ri*
: to *abhyāsa* of a base with penultimate *ṛ* in *yaṅ* (Intens): *narinarti*, *varivarti* (7.4.91).
: also to bases ending in *ṛ* : *jariharti* (7.4.92).

rīk : *āg* : *rī*

: same as *rik* above. Here *rī* (long) instead of *ri* (short): *narīnarti, varīvarti,* etc. (7.4.90)

ruk : *āg* : *r*

: same as *rik* above. Here *r* instead of *ri*: *narnarti, varvarti, jarharti,* (7.4.91f).

vuk : *āg* : *v*

: to *bhrū* before *ḍhak*: *bhrauveya* (4.1.125)

: to √*bhū* before *liṅ* and *liṭ* (*tiṅ*) *pratyayas*: *abhūvan, babhūva* (6.4.88)

tad : ± — *aká*:

: to *kanthā*: *kānthaka* (4.2.103)

ṣuk : *āg* : *ṣ*

: to *manu* before *añ* and *vat*:*mānuṣa, manuṣvat* (4.1.161); also to *trapu* and *jatu*:*trāpuṣa, jātuṣa* (4.3.138)

: to √*bhī* before *ṇi*: *bhīṣayate* (7.3.40)

ṣphak : *tad* : ± — *āyaná*

: see under *ṣ*

sak : *āg* : *s*

: to roots *yam, ram,* etc. and to roots ending in *ā* (in Aor. *parasm*): *ayaṁsīt, ayāsīt,* (7.2.73)

kh

Mute *kh* has been used as *anubandha* with *kṛt pratyayas* only. It always stands at the beginning; and has some other mute letter used along with it as a second *anubandha,* which naturally is placed at the end. The other letters thus used are *c* (in two cases), *ñ*, *n*, *l* and *ś* (once each), and in two cases the other *anubandha* letters *ñ* and *c* have the vowel *u* prefixed to them evidently for ease of pronunciation. The purposes served by the other mute letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places.

The presence of mute *kh* in a *pratyaya* indicates:

i) That the words *aruṣ* and *dviṣat* and the *prātipadikas* ending in a vowel take the *āgama mum* (=*m*) when compounded with *khidanta* formations: *aruṣ* + √*tud* + *khac* = *aruntuda; dviṣat* + √*tap* + *khac* = *dviṣantapa;* similarly *paṇḍitammanya* (6.3.67).

ii) That a monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel except *a,* takes *am* when compounded with a *khidanta* word or formation. This *am* is to be applied to it exactly like the (acc. sg. ending) *am*: *go* + √*man* + *śyan* + *khaś* = *gāmmanya;* similarly *strīmmanya* or *striyammanya*, etc. (6.3.68).

iii) Any word, except an indeclinable, when compounded with a *khidanta* formation as the second member, will shorten its final vowel: *kālī* + √*man* + *śyan* +*khaś* = *kālimmanyā;* similarly *hariṇimmanyā* (the *mum āgama* taking place according to the rule noted above). (6.3.68).

According to 7.1.2, *kh* at the beginning of a *pratyaya* stands for and must be substituted by *īna*. But here it must be observed that in the *pratyayas* listed here below, the letter *kh* is only an *anubandha* and hence does not form an integral part of it. It, therefore, cannot be said to stand at the beginning (or to be more accurate, to form the beginning) of the *pratyayas*. *kh* in these *pratyayas,* therefore, is not substituted by *īna*. It is altogether dropped; for, according to *laśaḳvataddhite* (1.3.8), it is only an *it*.

khit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

khac : *kṛt* : *á*
: to √*vad* after *priya,* to √*yam* after *vāc*, etc: *priyaṁvada*, *vācaṁyama*, etc. (3.2.38-43); similarly *purandara,* etc. (6.4.94).

ḳhamuñ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *am*
: to √*kṛ* to signify derogation; *coraṁḳāram* (*āḳrośati*) (3.4.25).

khal : *kṛt* : — —′ *a*
: to a root after *īṣat*, *dus,* and *su*: *īṣatḳara*, *duṣkara,* and *sukara* (3.3.126); also to √*bhū* when compounded with subject or object (preceded by *īṣat*, *dus, su*): *īṣadāḍhyambḥavaṁ* (*bhavatā*), *svāḍhyaṁḳāro* (*devadattaḥ*) (3.3.127)

khaś : *kṛt* : *a*
: to √*ej* (caus) when compounded with the obj.: *aṅgamejaya*, *janamejaya* (3.2.28).

: to √*dhmā*, √*dhe*, √*ruj*, √*vah*, √*pac*, √*tud*, √*dṛś* and √*man* when compounded with some particular words: *nāḍiṁdhama*, *kūlamudruja*, *droṇaṁpaca*; *vidhuṁtuda*, *asūryaṁpaśyā*, *paṇḍitammanya*. (3.2.29-36; 83)

khiṣṇuc : *kṛt* : *iṣṇú*

: to √*bhū* when compounded with *āḍhya* etc.: *āḍhyambhaviṣṇuḥ*, *subhagambhaviṣṇuḥ*, etc. (6.4.57).

khukañ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *uka*

: to √*bhū* (like *khiṣṇuc*): *āḍhyambhāvukaḥ*, etc. (6.4.57).

khyun : *kṛt* : —′ ± *ana*: (see 2.4.57)

: to √*kṛ* when compounded with *subhaga* etc. (with *cvi* understood) in the sense of agent or instrument: *āḍhyaṁkaraṇam*, *subhagaṁkaraṇam* (3.2.56).

g

Mute *g* has been used (we are told) only in one *pratyaya,* where owing to euphonic combination it has been changed to *k* (*cartvabhūto gakāraḥ*). The *Kāśikā* points out that this *pratyaya* (*ksnu* = *snu*) must be understood to be *git* and not *kit*. For, if it is taken to be *kit,* √*sthā* will have to be changed to *sthī* before it, according to 6.4.46. But as this is not admissible, this *pratyaya* cannot be considered to be *kit*. (read: *giccāyaṁ pratyayo na kit tena stha īkāro na bhavati*)

The presence of mute *g* in a *pratyaya* indicates that before such a *pratyaya* the base will not undergo *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. This is obtained from 1.1.5 where the expression *kṅiti* is said to include *g* changed to *k,* (*cartvabhūto gakāraḥ*) as found in the *kṛt pratyaya ksnu* (= *snu*). Read: *gakāro'pyatra cartvabhūto nirdiśyate.* (*Kāśikā* on 1.1.5) — *tena guṇo na bhavati* (*Kāśikā* on 3.2.139).

The only *git pratyaya* (in P's system, according to Pat and others) is:—

ksnu : *kṛt* : — = *snu*:

: to roots *glā, ji,* etc: *glāsnu, jiṣṇu,* etc. (3.2.139) (Actually, however, this *pratyaya* looks as if it were *kit*).

gh

Mute *gh* has been used as *anubandha* with only three *pratyayas* (all of them *kṛt*), is always placed at the beginning, and *ñ*, *ṇ* and *c* as second *anubandha* letters used along with it. The vowel *u*, prefixed to *n* in *ghinuṇ* (=*iṅ*), is evidently for case of pronunciation. The purposes served by mute *c*, *ñ* and *ṇ* have been explained and illustrated in their proper places.

The letter *gh* at the beginning of a *pratyaya* stands for and is to be substituted by *iya* (7.1.2). But this does not apply to *gh* that is used as an *it* (or *anubandha*). Mute *gh*, therefore, is only to be dropped and not substituted by *iya*. For a similar case see under *kh*.

The presence of mute *gh* in a *pratyaya* indicates that before such a *pratyaya* the base will change its *c* and *j* to *k* and *g* respectively: √*bhañj* + *ghurac*=*bhaṅgura*; √*ruj* + *ghañ* = *roga*. (7.3.52).

ghit pratyayas with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

ghañ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *a*:

: to several roots in various senses: *pāda*, *roga*, *sāra*, *adhyāya*, *pradrāva*, *udgāra*, etc. (3.2.16-42; 120-125; etc.)

ghinuṇ : *kṛt* : — ± *in*:

: to roots *śam*, *tam*, etc. : *śamin*, *tamin*, etc. *pramādin*, *vivekin*, *tyāgin*, *pradrāvin*, etc. (3.2.141-145).

ghurac : *kṛt* : *urá*

: to √*bhañj*, √*bhās*, √*bhid*, etc.: *bhaṅgura*, *bhāsura*, *bhidura* (3.2.161).

ṅ

Mute *ṅ* has been used as *anubandha* with roots, *pratyayas* of all varieties, *āgamas*, *ādeśas* and also some of the *lakāras*. With roots and root-forming *pratyayas* (such as *īyaṅ*, *yaṅ* etc.) it is often used by itself (without any other vowel or any other mute letter); and is placed at the end. Only in a few cases this *ṅ* has some vowel prefixed to it for facilitating pronunciation (as in *cakṣiṅ*=√*cakṣ*). Only few roots have a second *anubandha* letter in addition to *ṅ;* and it is always placed at the beginning: *ohāṅ* = √*hā*.

In the case of *pratyayas,* mute *ṅ* is found always at the end (except in the case of four *pratyayas*). The vowels *i* and *u* are found prefixed to the *pratyayas* only once each, while in 8 cases the vowel prefixed is *a*. Among the rest, *ṅ* occurs singly and without any other *anubandha* 13 times, while the letters *k, ñ, ṇ, c* and *ṣ* have been used as second *anubandhas* once each and placed at the beginning. In the four cases, where *ṅ* is placed at the beginning, the second *anubandha* letters used are *p* (twice), *n* and *ṣ*.

The vowels prefixed to *ṅ* only serve to facilitate pronunciation. The other letters, however, have their own purposes to serve; and these have been explained in their proper places. Before noting the purposes served by mute *ṅ,* we have to note some *pratyayas* which, though not actually capped with a mute *ṅ*, are to be considered as *ṅit* (or optionally so) for the purposes of modifications. They are:—

A. *Pratyayas* to be considered as *ṅit*:—

i) *iḍādi pratyayas* after √*vij*: *udvijitā* (1.2.2)

ii) *sārv.apit pratyayas*: *kurutaḥ kurvanti* (1.2.4)

iii) All the *pratyayas* except those that have a mute *ñ* or *ṇ* after *gāṅ* (=*gā*), a substitute for √*i* (in *adhi* + √*i*) and roots *kuṭ* etc. (i.e. from √*kuṭ* upto √*ku*): *adhyagīṣṭa, kuṭita, kuṭitum, kuṭitavyam* (1.2.1)

iv) *yāsuṭ* (= the *āgama yās*, of *liṅ* in *parasm*):

kuryāt (3.4.103). Here *s* of *yās* is dropped according to 7.2.79 and *i* of *ti* is dropped according to 3.4.99. (This *āgama* being considered *ṅit*: prevents *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*)

B. *Pratyayas* to be considered as optionally *ṅit*:
iḍādi pratyayas after √*ūrṇu*: *prorṇavitā*, or *prorṇuvitā* (1.2.3) (where the final *u* of *ūrṇu* takes *guṇa* optionally).

Now we note the purposes served by mute *ṅ* under different heads:

A. The presence of mute *ṅ* in the case of roots indicates:

1. That such roots have *ātm pratyayas* added to them: *ṣūṅ* (√*sū*) — *sūte; śīṅ* (√*śī*) — *śete*. (1.3.12).
2. All the personal endings applied to such roots are enclitic (*anudātta*): *sūte, śete* etc. (6.1.186).

B. The presence of mute *ṅ* in an *ādeśa* indicates:

i. That such an *ādeśa* prevents *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*: *cinutaḥ, cinvanti* (1.1.5)

ii. That even if it is *anekāl*, it is substituted for the final phoneme only and not for the whole *sthānin*:*hotāpotārā* (where *ānaṅ* predicated of a base ending in *ṛ* is substituted for the final *ṛ* only) (1.2.53).

The *ādeśa tātaṅ*, however, is substituted for the whole *sthānin* (namely *hi* or *tu* for which it is laid down):

jīvatāt (7.1.5). For, in this case mute *ṅ* serves to prevent *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* and to show that it is not *pit.* (7.1.35). (So this is a good illustration of the *pbh*: *ekānubandhakṛtam anityam*/)

C. In the case of *pratyayas,* the presence of mute *ṅ* indicates several modifications and substitutions in the base to which they are appended. We shall note them here under different heads according as the base is (1) a personal ending (*tiṅ*), (2) a nominal base, (3) a *sup pratyaya,* or (4) a root:—
1 Modifications of personal ending (*tiṅ*) indicated by mute *ṅ* are:

(a) The *s* of 1st personal ending of a *ṅit lakāra* (i.e. *laṅ, liṅ, luṅ, lṛṅ*) is dropped in *parasm* only: *apacāva, apacāma,* etc. (3.4.99).

(b) The *i* of the personal ending in *parasm* of *ṅit lakāra* is dropped: *apacat, apacaḥ* etc. (3.4.100).

(c) *tām, tam, ta* and *am* are substituted for *tas* (3rd du), *thas* (2nd du), *tha* (2nd plr), and *mip* (1st sg) respectively: *apacatām,* etc. (3.4.101).

(d) The *ā* of a *sārv.tiṅ* (*ātm*) takes the *ādeśa iy* (=*i*) after a base ending in *a* : *pacete, pacethe* etc. (7.2.81).

2. Modifications of nominal bases before *ṅit pratyayas*:—

(a) *ṅit* endings after nominal bases ending in *i* or *u* take the *āgama āt* (= *ā*) optionally when the words are designated *nadī* according to 1.4.6.

(b) The final of the base ending in *ghi* (cf. 1.4.7) takes *guṇa*: *agnaye, vāyave,* etc. (7.3.111).

3. Modifications of the *sup pratyayas* indicated by mute *ṅ*:—

   (a) *ṅit pratyayas* take the augment *āṭ* (=*ā*) after *nadīsaṁjñaka* words: *kumāryai, vadhvai* (7.3.112).

   (b) *ṅit pratyayas* take the *augment yāṭ* (=*yā*) after a fem. base ending in *ā* (*āp*): *khaṭvāyai* (7.3.113).

   (c) *ṅit pratyayas* take the augment *syāṭ* (*syā*) after a fem. pron. base ending in *ā;* and this base shortens its vowel: *sarvasvai* (7.3.114)

   (d) This holds good in the case of *dvitīyā* and *tṛtīyā* optionally: *dvitīyasyai, dvitīyāyai* (7.3.115).

   (e) *ṅi* (loc. sg.) is changed to *ām* after fem. bases ending in *ā, ī, ū*: *khaṭvāyām, kumāryām, vadhvām* (7.3.116).

   (f) *ṅi* is changed to *au* after words ending in *i* or *u*: *harau, gurau, kṛtau, dhenau,* etc. (7.3.119). In the case of *nadī* (fem.) words, however, *ṅi*=*ām* (7.3.117): *nadyām, vadhvām, kṛtyām, dhenvām.*

   (g) *āṅ* (= *ṭā* of instr. sg.) after *ghi* is changed to *nā* *agninā, vāyunā,* etc. (7.3.120).

4. Modifications of roots before *ṅit pratyayas*:—

   (a) The roots *grah, jyā, ve, vyadh, vaś, vyac, vraśc, pracch,* and *bhrasj* take *samprasāraṇa*: *gṛhṇāti, jināti,* etc. (6.1.16.).

   (b) √*svap* (causal) undergoes *samprasāraṇa* before *caṅ* (Aor.) only and not before all *ṅit pratyayas*: *asūṣupat* (6.1.18).

   (c) √*svap*, √*syam*, √*svan*, and √*vye* undergo *samprasāraṇa* only before *yaṅ* (Intens.): *soṣupyate* etc. (6.1.19)

(d) The base ending in a nasal lengthens its penultimate before *jhalādi ṅit pratyayas*: *śaṁśāntaḥ, taṁtāntaḥ*, etc. (from √*śam* and √*tam* respectively) (6.4.15).

(e) *chh* and u of the base are substituted by *ś* and *ūṭh* (= *ū*) respectively: √*pracch* — *praśna*; √*siv* — *syona*.

(f) *v* of the base (namely the roots *jvar, tvar,* etc.) is changed to *ūṭh* (= *ū*): √*tvar* — *tātūrhi*; √*jvar* — *jājūrhi*; etc. (6.4.20).

(g) *cch* and *v* coming after *r* of a base are dropped: √*hurcch* — *johūrtaḥ*; √*tūrv* — *totūrtaḥ* (6.4.21).

(h) The penultimate nasal of roots that are not *idit* is dropped: √*sraṁs* — *sanīsrasyate;* √*dhvaṁs* — *danīdhvasyate* (6.4.24).

(i) √*śās* changes its *ā* to *i* before *aṅ* (of Aor) and *halādi ṅit pratyayas*: *anvaśiṣat, śiṣmaḥ* etc. (6.4.34).

(j) The *anudāttopadeśa* roots and the roots *van, tan,* etc. drop their nasal before *halādi ṅit pratyayas*: *hataḥ, atata, atathāḥ*, etc. (6.4.37).

(k) Roots *jan, san* and *khan* take the *ādeśa ā* before *jhalādi ṅit pratyayas*: *jāti, sāti*, etc. (6.4.42); and optionally before *yakārādi ṅit pratyayas*: *jājāyate* or *jañjanyate* (6.4.43)

(l) √*dī* gets the *āgama yuṭ* (=y) before *ajādi ṅit pratyayas*: *upadidīye,* etc. (6.4.63).

(m) Roots ending in *ā* drop their *ā* before *iḍādi ārdh. pratyayas*: *pradā, pradhā* (formed acc. *PA*. 3.3.106)

(n) *ghu* roots (cf. 1.1.20) and the roots *mā, sthā, gā, hā* (*jahāti*) and *sā* change their *ā* to *ī* before consonantal *ṅit pratyayas*: *dedīyate, memīyate*, etc. (6.4.66).

(o) The roots *gam, han, jan, khan* and *dham* drop their *upadhā* (penultimate *a*) before *ajādi ṅit pratyayas*: *ghnanti* (6.4.98); √*tan* and √*pat* do so in the Veda; while √*ghas* and √*bhas* do it before all *ṅit pratyayas* in the Veda: *vitatnire, paptima, babdhām, bapsati* etc. (6.4.99-100).

(p) *kar* (√*kṛ*) is changed to *kur* before *sārv. ṅit pratyayas*: *kurutaḥ* etc. (6.4.110).

(q) *śnā* (*vik* of cl. IX) and the reduplicated bases drop their (final) *ā* before *sārv. ṅit pratyayas*: *lunate, amimata,* etc. (6.4.112); while √*hā* drops it before *yakārādi sārv. ṅit pratyayas*: *jahyāt* **(6.4.118).**

(r) *śnam* (*vik* of cl. VII) and √*as* drop their *a* before *sārv. ṅit pratyayas*: *bhindanti, santi* (6.4.111).

(s) *daridrā* changes its *ā* to *i* before *halādi ṅit pratyayas*: *daridrivaḥ,* etc. (6.4.114).

(t) √*bhī* and √*hā* change their *ā* to *i* or *ī* before *halādi ṅit pratyayas*: *bibhivaḥ* or *bibhīvaḥ*: *jahivaḥ* or *jahīvaḥ* (6.4.115; 116); before *hi* (Impv. 2nd sg) √*hā* retains its *ā* optionally: *jahāhi, jahihi, jahīhi,* (6.4.117); and drops it before *yakārādi sārv. ṅit pratyayas*: *jahyāt* **(6.4.118).**

(u) *ghu* roots (1.1.20) and √*as* change their *ā* and *a* to *e* before *hi;* and the former further drop their *abhyāsa*: *dehi, dhehi, edhi* (6.4.119).

(v) √*śī* changes its *ī* to *ay* before *yakārādi ṅit pratyayas*: *śāśayyate* (7.4.22); while √*ūh* (when preceded by a prefix) shortens its vowel before these *pratyayas*: *samuhyate, samuhya* (7.4.23).

(w) In *liṅ* before *yakārādi ṅit pratyayas*, √*ī* (when it has an *upasarga*) shortens its vowel: *udiyāt*, *anviyāt* etc. (7.4.24).

(x) Before *akṛt* and *asārvadhātuka yakāra* and also before *ṅit pratyayas* a base ending in *a*, *i* or *u* lengthens its final vowel: *bhṛśāyate*, *cīyate*, *toṣṭūyate*; (7.4.25); while bases ending in *ṛ* change their *ṛ* to *rī*: *mātrīyate*, *cekrīyate* (7.4.27).

D Mute *ṅ* in the *Śiva-sūtra* (*eoṅ*) is used for forming only one *pratyāhāra* (namely *eṅ*)

ṅit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

akaṅ : *ād* : *ak*

: for *sudhātṛ* when the suffix *iñ* is appended to it: *saudhātakiḥ* (4.1.97)

aṅ : *ād* : *a*

: for *cli* (of Aor.) after √*as*, √*vac*, etc.: *āsthat*, *avocat*, etc. (3.1.52) etc.

anaṅ : *ād* : *an*

: for the final *i* of *asthi* etc. before the vowel *sup pratyayas* from instr. sg. up to loc. plr: *asthnā* etc. (7.1.75); also before other *sup pratyayas* in the Veda: *akṣabhiḥ* (7.1.76).

: for *sakhi* before *su* (nom. sg): *sakhā*; and for *ūdhas*, *dhanus*, etc. at the end of a *Bah. Vr.* compound: *ghaṭodhnī*, *puṣpadhanvā*, etc. (5.4.131f).

ayaṅ	: *ād*	: *aya*
		: for the final of √*śī* before *kit* or *ṅit* affixes beginning with *y*: *praśayya, śayyate* (7.4.22).
avaṅ	: *ād*	: *ava*
		: for the final of *go* (the noun) before a vowel: *gavāgra,* (6.1.123).
asuṅ	: *ād*	: *as*:
		: for the final of *pums* before *sarvanāmasthāna* endings : *pumāṅ, pumāṁsau,* etc. (7.1.89)
āṅ	: *sup*	: (= *ṭā* of P) *ā*
		: (see 7.3.120)
ānaṅ	: *ād*	: *ān*
		: for first member ending in *ṛ* of a *dvandva* cpd: *hotāpotārau* (6.3.25); or in *devatādvandva* cpd, etc: *mitrāvaruṇau* (6.3.26).
inaṅ	: *ād*	: *in*
		: for the final of *kalyāṇa* etc. when followed by *ḍhak*: *kalyāṇīneya* (14.1.126 etc.)
iyaṅ	: *ād*	: *iya*
		: for the final of some roots: *kṣiyanti*; and of the *abhyāsa*: *iyeṣa* (6.4.77f).
īyaṅ	: *kṛt*	: — = *īya*
		: to √*ṛt*: *ṛtīyate* (3.1.29).

uvaṅ : *ād* : *uva*
: for the final *u* of roots: *āpnuvanti;* and of the *abhyāsa*: *uvoṣa* (6.4.77).

auṅ : *sup* : *au* (= *au* and *auṭ* of P)
: see Pat on 7.1.18

kyaṅ : *rfs.* : — = *ya*
: see under *k*.

ṅas : *sup* : *as*
: gen. sg. ending: *dṛṣadaḥ* (4.1.2)

ṅasi : *sup* : *as*
: abl. sg. ending: *dṛṣadaḥ* (4.1.2)

ṅi : *sup* : *i*
: loc. sg. ending: *dṛṣadi* (4.1.2).

ṅīn : *strī* : —ʹ — *ī*
: see under *n*.

ṅīp : *strī* : *ī*
: see under *p*

ṅīṣ : *strī* : *ī́*
: see under *ṣ*

ṅe : *sup* : *e*
: dat. sg. ending: *dṛṣade* (4.1.2).

ṅvanip : *kṛt* : — = *van*
: *to* √*su* and *√yaj* : *sutvā, yajvā* (3.2.103).

caṅ : *ād* : — = *á*
: for *cli* : see under *c*

ṇiṅ : *rfs.* : — ± *i*
: to √*kam* : *kāmayate* (3.1.30).

taṅ : *tiṅ* : *ta*
: to roots in Impv. 2nd plr: *bharata* (6.3.133).

taveṅ : *kṛt* : — = *tave*
: to roots: *sūtave* (3.4.9).

tātaṅ : *ād* : — = *tāt*
: for *hi, tu* (Impv. 2nd, 3rd sg): *jīvatāt* (7.1.35).

naṅ : *kṛt* : — = *na*
: to √*yaj*, *Vyāc*, etc: *yajña*, *yācña* etc. (3.3.90)

najiṅ : *kṛt* : — = *naj*
: to √*svap*, V*tṛṣ* etc: *svapnak*, *tṛṣṇak* (3.2.172)

niṅ : *ād* : *ni*
: for (the final of) *jāyā* at the end of *Bah. Vr.* compound: *yuvajāniḥ* (5.4. 134).

yaṅ : *rfs.* : — = *ya*
: to roots to form Intens.: *pāpacyate*, etc. (3.1.22, etc.)

riṅ : *ād* : *ri*
: for the final *ṛ* of roots before *śa*, *yak*, and *liṅ*: *ādriyate*, *kriyate*, *kriyāt* (7.4.28).

rīṅ	: *ād*	: *rī*
		: for the final ṝ of roots before *yakāra* (not *kṛt, not sārv*) or *cvi* : *mātrīyati, matrīyate, matrībhūta* etc. (7.4.27).
laṅ	: *kṛt*	: Theoretical Impf. endings.
liṅ	: *kṛt*	: Theoretical Pot. and Prec. endings.
luṅ	: *kṛt*	: Theoretical Aor. endings.
lṛṅ	: *kṛt*	: Theoretical cond. endings.
ṣyaṅ	: *ād*	: *ya*
		: for *aṇ, iñ* (in the sense of *gotra*): *vārāhya, bālākya* etc. (4.1.78, etc.)

c

Mute *c* has been used as *anubandha* with about 50 *taddhita* and 30 *kṛt pratyayas* and several *ādeśas* and other kinds of *pratyayas*. It is placed more at the end than at the beginning; and though in a majority of cases used singly, has at times some other letter used along with it as a second *anubandha*. The letters thus used along with mute *c* are *k*, *kh*, *gh*, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *p*, and *ś*. The purposes served by these letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places.

In several of these *pratyayas* have also been used the letters *ṭh*, *ph* and *vu*, which are to be substituted by *ika*, *āyana*, and *aka* respectively. A glance through the list given below will show how apparently the same *pratyayas* can be distinguished from one another by means of *anubandhas* : *ṭhac* and *ṣṭhac*, *cānaś* and *śanac*, or *iṣṇuc* and *khiṣṇuc*. A look at Index III will also show how *anubandhas* have been a major means of economy in the hands of P.

The vowels used along with the mute letter *c* are meant as usual for ease of pronunciation.

The presence of mute *c* in a *pratyaya* indicates:

i) That the word formed by adding such a *pratyaya* will be oxytone (7.1.163-164).

ii) In several cases, particularly in the case of monosyllabic *pratyayas*, the letter *c* seems to be redundant. For even in its absence there would be no difference in accentuation, and the formations will be oxytone only (by the *pratyayasvara*). But almost in all such cases it can be shown to serve some purpose such as *sāmānyagrahaṇa*, or *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighāta*, or *viśeṣaṇa* (as explained in the *Kāśikā*).

iii) There are cases where *c* serves to distinguish between *pratyays* which in the absence of the *anubandha* would appear to be identical: Thus *c* of *khac* serves to distinguish it from *khaś* (6.4.94). Similarly *c* of *tṛc* distinguishes *it* from *tṛṇ*: and also makes it possible for *tṛ* to cover both *tṛc* and *tṛn*. Thus it is both *viśeṣaṇārtha* as well as *śāmānyagrahaṇāvighātārtha*. (6.3.39; 6.4.154; etc.)

iv) In the *Śiva-sūtra*, mute *c* serves to form four *pratyāhāras*, namely *ac, ic, ec* and *aic*.

cit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order) :—

akac : *tad* : *ak*
: to a pron. or indec. (prefixed to the last vowel) : *sarvake, anyake, uccakaiḥ* etc. (5.3.71)
: to any word in the sense of *ajñātatā* or derogation: *aśvaka, uṣṭraka*, etc., (5.3.72ff.)

aṭhac : *tad* : *aṭhá*
: to *karman*: *karmaṭha* (5.2.35).

aḍac : *tad* : *aḍá*
: to *up* (as the first member of a polysyllabic human name) : *upaḍa* (= *upendradatta*) (5.3.80).

atasuc : *tad* : *atás*
: to *dakṣiṇa, uttara, para* and *avara*: *dakṣiṇataḥ, parataḥ*, etc. (5.3.28f).

athuc	*kṛt*	*athú* to *ṭvit* (= having mute *ṭu*) roots: *vepathu, kṣavathu,* etc. (3.3.89).
anic	**sam**	***án*** to *dharma* (at the end of Bah. *Vr.*): *priyadharmā* (5.4.124); to *jambha* when compounded with *su* etc. as the first member: *sujambhā;* and to *īrma* when compounded with *dakṣiṇa*:*dakṣiṇermā* (5.4.125f).
ayac	*ād*	***ayá*** for *taya* after *dvi, tri* and *ubha; dvaya, traya* and *ubhaya* (5.2.43).
asic	*sam*	*ás* to *prajā, medhā* after *nañ, su, duḥ* in *Bah. Vr.*: *aprajāḥ, durmedhāḥ,* etc. (5.4.122); also *bahuprajāḥ* in the Veda (5.4.123).
ākinic	***tad***	*ākín*: to *eka*:*ekākin* (5.3.52)
āṭac	***tad***	***āṭa*** to *vāc* : *vācāṭa* (5.2.125)
ālac	***tad***	***āla*** to *vāc* : *vācāla* (5.2.125)
āluc	***kṛt***	*ālú* to roots *spṛh, gṛh,* etc.: *spṛhayālu, paṭayālu,* etc. (3.2.158)

ic : *sam* : *í*
: to *vyati.Bah.Vr.*: *daṇḍādaṇḍi* (5.4.127).

itac : *tad* : *itá*
: to *tārakā* etc.: *tārakita*, *puṣpita*, etc. (5.2.36).

inac : *tad* : *iná*
: to *ni* (substituted by *cika*): *cikina* (5.2.33).

imanic : *tad* : *imán*
: to *pṛthu* etc.: *prathiman*, etc. (5.1.122)

irec : *ād* : *iré*
: for *jha* in Pf. 3rd plr: *pecire* (3.4.81); this is often substituted by *re* in the Veda: *dadhre*, *paridadhre* (6.4.76).

ilac : *tad* : *ilá*
: to *phena*, *piccha* etc: *phenila*, *picchila*, etc. (5.2.105; 117; 3.79).

iṣṇuc : *kṛt* : *iṣṇú*
: to *alaṁkṛ* etc.: *alaṁkariṣṇu;* to causal bases and to √ *bhū* only in the Veda: *dhārayiṣṇu*, *bhaviṣṇu*, etc. (3.2.136ff).

īrac : *tad* : *īrá*
: to *aṇḍa* : *aṇḍīra* (5.2.111).

urac : *tad* : *urá*
: to *danta*: *dantura* (5.2.106).

edhāc : *ād* : *edhā́*
: for *dhā* after *dvi*, and *tri*: *dvedhā*, *tredhā* (5.3.46).

kaṭyac : *tad* : *kaṭyá*
: to *ratha* : *rathakaṭyā* (5.2.51).

kānac : *kṛt* : — = *āná*
: optionally represents Pf.: (3.2.106).

kāmyac : *rfs* : *kāmyá*
: to words to form denom: *putrakāmyati* (3.1.9).

kuṭārac : *tad* : *kuṭārá*
: to *ava*: *avakuṭāram* (5.2.30).

kurac : *kṛt* : — = *urá*
: to √*vid*, √*bhid*, etc.: *vidura*, *bhidura* (3.2.162).

kṛtvasuc : *tad* : *kṛtvás*
: to numerals: *pañcakṛtvaḥ*, *bahukṛtvaḥ*, etc. (5.4.17,20).

ktic : *kṛt* : — = *tí*
: to roots to form a noun: *sāti*, *bhūti*, etc. (3.3.174).

kmarac : *kṛt* : — = *mará*
: to √*sṛ*, √*ghas*, etc.: *sṛmara*, *ghasmara*, etc. (3.2.160).

kyac : *rfs* : — = *yá*
: to a *subanta*, or *upamāna* and to *namas*, *varivas*, and *citraṅ* (= *citra*): *putrīyati*, *namasyati*, *varivasyati*, *citrīyate* etc. (3.1, 10; 19)

khac : *kṛt* : *á*
: see under *kh.*

khiṣṇuc : *kṛt* : *iṣṇú*
: see under *kh.*

ghac : *tad* : *iyá*
: to *agra*: *agriya* (4.4.117)

ghurac : *kṛt* : *urá*
: see under *gh.*

caṅ : *vik* : — = *á* :
: to causals and to several roots and (in the Veda) to √*gup*: *acīkarat, aśiśriyat, aśiśviyat, ajūgupatam* (3.1.48ff). But not to causals of roots *ūn, dhvan, il,* and *ard*: *ūnayīḥ, dhvanayīt* etc. (in the Veda) (3.1.51).

cānaś : *kṛt* : *āná*
: to roots to indicate *tācchīlya*, age, and capacity: *bhūṣayamāṇaḥ, vahamānaḥ* etc. (3.2.129)

cāp : *strī* : *á*
: to formations in *ñyaṅ, ṣyaṅ,* etc.: *sauviryā, kausalyā,* etc. (4.1.74f).

ciṇ : *ād* : — ± *i*
: for t*a* (Aor. 3rd sg.) in the case of several roots (always Passive): *apādi, adīpi, akāri* (3.1.60-66).

cphañ : *tad* : ± — *āyaná*
: to *kuñja* etc.: *kauñjāyana* etc. (4.1.98).

cli : *vik* : Aor. sign: substituted by *sic, ksa, caṅ, aṅ,* and *ciṇ* (q.v.) (3.1.44ff).

jāhac : *tad* : *jāhá*
: to *karṇa* etc: *karṇajāha,* etc. (5.2.24).

ṭac : *sam* : *á* (fem. *ī*).
to cpd. words ending in *rājan, ahan,* and *sakhi,* and to several other words: *madrarājaḥ, uttamāhaḥ, brāhmaṇasakhaḥ,* etc. (5.4.91ff).

ṭīṭac : *tad* : *ṭīṭá*
: to *ava*: *avaṭīṭa* (5.2.31).

ṭhac : *tad* : *iká*
: to *kumuda* etc: *kaumudika* (4.2.80).

ḍac : *sam* : *á*
: to *saṁkhyā Bah. Vr.*: *dvitrāḥ, upadaśāḥ,* (5.4.73).

ḍatamac : *tad* : *atamá*
: to *kim, yat,* etc: *katamá, yatamá,* etc. (5.3.93).

ḍatarac : *tad* : *atará*
: like *ḍatamac* (q.v.) (5.3.92).

ḍāc : *tad* : *ā*
: to onomatopoetic words etc. used along with √*kr* : *paṭapaṭākaroti* (5.4.47 f).

ḍupac	: *tad*	: *upá*
		: to *kutū*: *kutupa* (5.3.89).
ḍvalac	: *tad*	: *valá*
		: to *śikhā*: *śikhāvala* (4.2.88).
ṇac	: *kṛt*	: — ± *á*
		: to roots to indicate reciprocity of action, (fem. only) : *vyāvakrośī* (3.3.43).
ṇic	: *ṛfs*	: — ± *í*
		: to nouns etc. to form denom: *muṇḍayati*, etc.; *satyā̆payati*, etc. (3.1.21, 25).
		: to roots to form causals: *bandhayati* (3.1.26).
ṇvuc	: *kṛt*	: — ± *aká* (fem. *ikā*)
		: to roots in various senses: *śāyikā*; (*ikṣu*)—*bhañjikā* etc. (3.3.111)
tṛc	: *kṛt*	: *tṛ'*
		: to roots to signify a worthy agent: *voḍhā*, *kartā*, etc. (3.1.133; 3.160f).
daghnac:	: *tad*	: *daghná*
		: to several words to signify measure: *jānudaghna* (5.2.37).
dvayasac	: *tad*	: *dvayasá*
		: same as *daghnac*. (5.2.37).
nāṭac	: *tad*	: *nāṭá*
		: to *ava*: *avanāṭa* (5.2.31).
piṭac	: *tad*	: *piṭá*

		: to *ni* (substituted by *ci*): *cipiṭá* (5.2.33).
bahuc	: *tad*	: *bahu* — —′
		: (prefixed) to a *subanta*: *bahupaṭuḥ* (5.3.68).
biḍac	: *tad*	: *biḍá*
		: to *ni*: *nibiḍa* (5.2.32).
bhraṭac	: *tad*	: *bhraṭa*
		: to *ava*: *avabhraṭa* (5.2.31)
mātrac	: *tad*	: *mātrá*
		: to words to signify measure: *jānumātra* (5.2.37).
yāc	: *ād*	: *yā́*
		: for nom. sg. ending: *sādhuyā* (instead of *sādhu* with *suluk*) in the Veda (7.1.39).
yuc	: *kṛt*	: *aná*
		: to *gatyartha* and *śabdārtha* roots in the sense of a *tacchīla* agent: *śabdana*, *ravaṇa* (3.2.148): also to several other roots: *vardhana*, *lavana*, etc. (3.2.149ff).
lac	: *tad*	: *lá*
		: to words ending in *ā*: *cūḍāla* (5.2.96); to *sidhma*, etc., *vatsa* and *aṁsa*: *vatsala*, *aṁsala*, etc., etc. (5.2.97f).
varac	: *kṛt*	: *vará*
		: to roots *sthā*, *īś*, etc: *sthāvara*, *īśvara*, etc. (3.2.175)

valac : *tad* : *valá*
: to *śikhā*: *śikhāvala* (4.2.89)

vic : *kṛt* : *v* (dropped, acc. 6.1.67).
: to *upa*+√*yaj* and some other roots: *upayāḍbhiḥ*, *upadāḥ* etc. (3.2.73ff).

vuc : *tad* : *aká*
: to *upa* (see *aḍac* above): *upaka* (5.3.80).

śaṁkaṭac : *tad* : *śaṁkaṭá*:
: to *vi*: *viśaṁkaṭa* (5.2.28).

śānac : *ād* : *āná*
: for *vik*. *nā* (of cl. IX) before *hi* (of Impv. 2nd sg): *muṣāṇa* (3.1.83).
: *kṛt* : *āná*:
: comes in the place of Pr. tense or second Future: *pacamāna*, *kariṣyamāṇa* (3.2.124; 3.14); also see 6.1.186.

śāyac : *ād* : *āyá*
: for *nā* (*vik*. of cl. IX) before *hi* (Impv. 2nd sg.) in roots of cl. IX in the Veda: *gṛbhāya* (3.1.84).

śālac : *tad* : *śāla*
: to *vi*: *viśāla* (5.2.28).

ṣac : *sam* : *á* (fem. *ī*)
: to *sakthi*, *akṣi* etc. at the end of *Bah. Vr.* cpd: *dīrghasaktha*, *viśālākṣa*, *trimūrdha*, etc. (5.4.113ff).

ṣṭarac	: *tad*	: *tará* (fem. *ī*) : : to *vatsa, aśva,* etc: *vatsatara, aśvatara,* etc. (5.3.90f).
ṣṭhac	: *tad*	: *iká* (fem. *ī*) : : to *daśaikādaśa*: *daśaikādaśika* (4.4.31).
sic	: *ād*	: *s* : for *cli* (Aor. sign) : *akārṣīt,* etc. (3.1.44)
suc	: *tad*	: *s* : to *dvi, tri,* and *catur*: *dviḥ, triḥ, catuḥ* (5.4.18).

j

Mute *j* has been used as *anubandha* in the case of one *pratyaya* and one *ādeśa* only; and in both it is placed at the beginning only.

P neither uses the expression *jit,* nor does he mention any special purpose as being served by mute *j* used as an *anubandha.* Kātyāyana has used the expression *jit* (1.1.68). (But even he does not appear to make the point quite clear). It would appear as if this mute *j* has been used by P, not for basing any grammatical operation thereon, but rather for distinction or identification (*viṣ'eṣaṇārtha*) of the particular *pratyaya* etc. that is intended in the particular rule. Thus, for example, there are several *pratyayas* which in the absence of their *anubandha* would appear to be identical. But when we look at their metalinguistic forms, we can see that they are not identical. Such, for example, are *ṅas, jas, śas,* and *ṅasi.* Here it is easy to see that *j* in *jas* is used for *viśeṣaṇa* only. Similarly *jus* and *us* in their actual form are identical; and the mute *j* (in *jus*) is useful in distinguishing it from *us* (which is the *ādeśa* for *liṭ* personal ending according to 3.4.82.) cf. *anubandhanirdeśācca, liḍādeśasyoso grahaṇābhāvaḥ.* (*MB* on 7.3.83).

jit pratyayas with illustrations and references are:—

jas : *sup* : *as*
: to *prātipadikas* : *dṛṣad* + *jas* = *dṛṣadaḥ* (4.1.2) etc.

jus : *ād* : *us*
: for *jhi* (=*anti*) in *liṅ* (Pot.): *paceyuḥ* (3.4.108).
: for *jhi* in *sic* (Aor), and after the *abhyasta* roots, √*vid,* and the roots ending in *ā*: *akārṣuḥ, abibhayuḥ, asthuḥ, ayuḥ* (3.4.109.112).

ñ

Mute *ñ* has been used as *anubandha* with several roots, 8 *kṛt* and 23 *taddhita pratyayas;* and is placed always at the end except in the case of one *kṛt* suffix (*ñyuṭ*) and three *taddhitas* (*ñya, ñyaṅ, ñyat*). In the case of *dhyamuñ*, it has the vowel *u* prefixed to it evidently for ease of pronunciation. The same is the case with the vowel *i* in *ñi*, which is found in the suffix *ñiṭha* (see *Kāśikā* on 4.2.116). Several other letters have been used along with it as second *anubandhas*. They are *k, kh, gh, ṅ, c, ṭ, ḍ* and *ṣ*. The purposes served by these letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. In several of these *pratyayas* again we find the letters *kh, ṭh, ḍh, ph, yu* and *vu* which have to be substituted by *īna, ika* (or *ka*) *eya, āyana, ana* and *aka* respectively.

The presence of mute *ñ* in a *pratyaya indicates*:—

(i) That the word formed with the addition of such a *pratyaya* will have the acute on its first syllable. (6.1.197)
It has, however, to be noted by way of exception that a *ghañanta* formation from $\sqrt{}$*kṛṣ* (cl. I) and such formations (from other roots) having the vowel *ā* in them have the acute on their final syllable: *karṣá, pāká, tyāga'*, etc. (6.1.159).

(ii) A *ñit kṛt* is never to be considered as being *ṅit*, though other *ñit pratyayas* are to be so considered. (For implications of this see under *ṅ*).

(iii) The final vowel and the penultimate *a* of the roots take *vṛddhi* before a *ñit pratyaya*: $\sqrt{}$*kṛ* + *ghañ*=*kāra*; similarly *hāra, pāka, tyāga* (7.2.115.116).

(iv) *Taddhita* formations obtained by adding *ñit pratyayas* substitute *vṛddhi* (*ā, ai, au*) for their first vowel; *garga* + *yáñ* = *gārgya* (4.1.105); *dakṣ* + *iñ* = *dākṣi* (7.2.117).

(v) Words obtained by adding *ñit pratyayas* in the sense of *vikāra* or *avayava* take the suffix *añ* (=*a*) in those very senses: *pālāśam, kāpotam, kāṁsyam,* etc. (4.3.155).

(vi) The *pratyayas aṇ* and *iñ* in the sense of *yuvan* (*apatya*) are dropped after a word formed with the addition of a *ñit pratyaya*: *bīda* + *añ* = *baīda* (4.1.104). The *iñ*, when applied to this *baīda* in the sense of *yuvan* (*apatya*), will be dropped and we shall have *baīda* only. Similarly *tika* + *phiñ* = *taikāyani* (4.1.154): and *taikāyani* + *aṇ* (4.1.83) = *taikāyani* only (the suffix *aṇ* being dropped) (2.4.58).

In the case of roots this *anubandha* stands always at the end and is to be distinguished from the *anubandha ñi* which is placed always at the beginning (see *ñi*).

The presence of mute *ñ* in the case of a root indicates that such a root will take *ātm* terminations, if and when the result of the action expressed by it is meant to accrue to the agent: *vṛñ* (√*vṛ*), *śriñ* (√*śri*)—*vṛṇute, śrayate,* when the result is meant to accrue to the agent (1.3.72); but otherwise, *vṛṇoti, śrayati.*

(vii) Modifications that some roots undergo before *ñit pratyayas*:—

a. √*han* substitutes *t* for *n*: *ghāta, sādhughātī* (7.3.32).

b. Bases ending in *ā* take the *āgama* yuk (=*y*): *dā* + *vuñ* = *dāyaka*; similarly *dhāyaka, gāyaka.* (7.3.33).

c. Bases ending in *m* of an *udāttopadeśa* root (except *ā* + √*cam*) as also √*jan* and √*vadh* do not substitute *vṛddhi* (= *ā*) for their penultimate *a* before *ñit pratyayas*: *śama, dama*; (7.3.34); *janaka, vadhaka* (7.3.35).

(viii) *ñ* at the end of the 8th *Śiva-sūtra* has given us one *pratyāhāra* (*yañ*) (7.2.101). The *Kāśikā* on 3.1.40 notices another *pratyāhāra* with mute *ñ* (*kṛñ*), which stands for the roots *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as*. But there appears to be hardly any justification for taking *kṛñ* as used by P in this *sūtra* as a *pratyāhāra*. (For a discussion about this see Introduction).

The *ñit pratyayas* etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):

añ : *tad* : ±′ — *a*
: to several words in various senses: *autsa, baida, mānava, śārava*, etc. (4.1.86, etc.)

iñ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *i*:
: to roots: *kāri* (3.3.10).
: *tad* : ±′ — *i*
: to word ending in *a* etc.: *dākṣi, bāhavi*, etc. (4.1.95, etc.)

ukañ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *uka*
: to roots *laṣ, pat*, etc: *apalāṣuka*, etc. (3.2.154) etc.
: *tad* : ±′ — *uka*
: to *karman*: *kārmuka* (5.1.103).

khañ : *tad* : ±′ — *īna*
: to *mahākula*, etc: *māhākulīna*, etc. (4.1.141, etc.)

khukañ *kṛt* : —′ ± *uka*
: see under *kh*.

ghañ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *a*
: see under *gh*.

cphañ : *tad* : ±′ — *āyana*
: see under *c*

ñiṭha : *tad* : ±′ — *iḳa*
: to *ḳāśī* etc.: *ḳāśiḳā*, etc. (4.2.116).

ñya : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*
: to *pragadin*, etc: *prāgadya*, etc. (4.2.80, etc.)

ñyaṅ : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*
: to *ḳosala*, etc: *sauvirya*, *ḳauntya*, etc. (4.1.171 etc.)

ñyaṭ : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*
: to words expressive of a warlike group (*svārthe*): *mālavya*, etc. (5.3.114) etc.

ñyuṭ : *ḳṛt* : —′ ± *ana*
: to √*vah* after *kavya*, etc.; and after *havya* only at *pādānta* (the end of a verse): *ḳavya-*, *havyavāhana* (3.2.65f).

ṭhañ : *tad* : ±′ — *ika* (or ±′ — *ka*)
: to *kumuda* etc: *kaumudika* etc. (4.2.80 etc.)

ḍhaḳañ : *tad* : ±′ — *eyaka*
: to *ḳula*, *ḳatri*, etc: *ḳauleyaḳa*, *ḳātreyaḳa*, etc. (4.1.140; 2.95f).

ḍhañ : *tad* : ±′ — *eya*
: to several words: *jāmbeya*, etc. (4.1.135, etc.).

dhamuñ : *ād* : ±′ — *dham*
: for *dhā* after *dvi* and *tri*: *dvaidham, traidham* (5.3.45).

dhyamuñ : *ād* : ±′ — *dhyam*
: for *dhā* after *eka*: *aikadhyam* (5.3.44).

nañ : *tad* : ±′ — *na*
: to *strī* : *straiṇam* (4.1.87).

nāñ : *tad* : ±′ — *nā*
: to *na* : *nānā* (5.2.27):

phañ : *tad* : ±′ — *āyana*
: to *aśva* etc: *āśvāyana*, etc. (4.1.110, etc.)

phiñ : *tad* : ±′ — *āyani*
: to *phāṇṭāhṛta* etc: *phāṇṭāhṛtāyani* (4.1.150 etc.)

yañ : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*
: to *garga* etc: *gārgya*, etc. (4.1.105. etc.)

vuñ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *aka*
: to roots *nind*, *hiṁs*, etc: *nindaka*, *hiṁsaka*, etc. (3.2.146ff).

: *tad* : ±′ — *aka*
: to *ukṣa*, *uṣṭra*, etc: *aukṣaka*, *auṣṭraka*, etc. (4.2.39 etc.)

ṣyañ : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*
: to *dṛḍha* etc. and to words expressive of colour: *dārḍhya*, *śauklya*, etc. (5.1.123) etc.

ṣlañ : *tad* : ±′ — *la*
: to *śamī*: *śāmīla* (4.3.142).

snañ : *tad* : ±′ — *sna*
: to *puṁs* : *pauṁsna* (4.1.87).

ñi

This *anubandha* has been used with roots only and is placed always at the beginning as required by 1.3.5. This, of course, is different from *ñ* (q.v.), and also from *ñi* (in *ñiṭha*) where *i* is only *uccāraṇārtha* (see *Kāśikā* on 4.2.116).

The presence of this *anubandha* in a root indicates that such a root will take the suffix *kta* (= *ta*) in the sense of the present also, in addition to its usual signification: *ñimidā* and *ñidhṛṣā* (i.e. √*mid* and √*dhṛṣ*) — *minna* and *dhṛṣṭa* which signify an action or a state at the present time also. (3.2.187).

ṭ

Mute *ṭ* has been used as *anubandha* with *āgamas*, and *sup*, *kṛt* and *taddhita pratyayas*. It has been placed at the end in a majority of cases, though in about half a dozen cases it is placed at the beginning. In two cases the vowel *u* is prefixed to it; and evidently it is meant only for ease of pronunciation. At times some other letters also are used along with it as second *anubandha*. Such letters are *k*, *c*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *n* and *l*. In *ṭiṭhan* *ṭ* and *n* are *anubandhas;* while *i* (in *ṭi*) is meant only for ease of pronunciation; (see *Kāśikā* on 5.1.25). The purposes served by the other *anubandha* letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. The purposes served by mute *ṭ* used as *anubandha* are:

The presence of mute *ṭ* in an *āgama* indicates that such an *āgama* is to be placed at the beginning of the base (or the part of the base) mentioned in the *sūtra* by the gen. case ending: *lavitā*, *janidhve*, *akārṣīt* (where the *āgama* *i* or *ī* is prefixed to the *pratyayas* for which it is laid down) (1.1.46).

Words formed with the addition of *ṭit pratyayas* form their feminine by adding *ī* (*ṅīp*); *kurucara* (*kuru*+*caraṭ*)—*kurucarī;* similarly *madracarī* (4.1.15).

Presence of mute *ṭ* in the *prātipadikas* indicates that such *prātipadikas* form their feminine by adding *ī* (*ṅīp*): *aikāgārikaṭ*, *ākālikaṭ*—*aikāgārikī*, *ākālikī* (5.1.113-114).

Presence of mute *ṭ* in *lakāras* (*laṭ*, *liṭ* etc.) indicates that in *ātm* they will substitute *e* for their *ṭi* (last of their vowels with the following consonant or consonants if any); *pacase*, *pacethe*, *pacadhve*, etc. (3.4.79). It also serves to distinguish the *ṭit lakāras* from the *ṅit* ones.

Mute *ṭ* is also useful in forming *pratyāhāras*. Thus with the *ṭ* at the end of the 5th *Śiva-sūtra* we get one *pratyāhāra aṭ* (8.4.63). *suṭ* is another *pratyāhāra* based on 4.1.2 and used by P in 1.1.43. It signifies the first five case endings, technically called the *sarvanāmasthāna*.

Mute *ṭ* in the *ādeśa iṭ* (3.4.78) is *viśeṣaṇārtha* (in 3.4.106) See *Kāśikā* on 3.4.78 and 106.

In *ṭā* (instr. sg. ending) it does not appear to serve any special purpose; but its utility is seen when it is observed that in its absence the *sūtra, dvitīyā ṭaussvenaḥ*, would have become ambignous. (see COJ., vol I p. 108). The *Nyāsa* points out that *ṭ* in *ṭā* is meant for distinguishing *ā* (of instr. sg.) from *ā* (*parasavarṇa*) enjoined by P in 7.1.39.

In *ṭāp*, *ṭ* helps to distinguish between the two *āp pratyayas* (viz. *cāp* and *ṭāp*) and also serves the purpose of inclusion of all the three *pratyayas* (*cāp*, *ṭāp*, and *ḍāp*) under the common designation *āp*. For a similar phenomenon and discussion about the same, see *ṅīn*, *ṅīp*, *ṅīṣ* discussed under *ṣ* below.

In *DhP*. 1.632 we get this *anubandha* in the root *dhe* (to suck). According to commentators this *anubandha* in *dheṭ* is also meant to indicate that the agent noun formed from this root will form its fem. by adding *ṅīp* (= *ī*). Thus we get forms like (*stanaṁ*)*dhayī* (4.1.5). Read: *dheṭaṣ ṭittvam avayave'-caritārthatvāt stanamdhyīti samudāye ṅībartham* /*Mādh. Dh. Vṛtti* on *dheṭ pāne* (*DhP*. 1.632)

ṭit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

aṭ : *āg* : *a*

: to roots in Impf., Aor. and Cond.: *akarot, aḳārṣīt, akariṣyat* (6.4.71).

: to subj. (*leṭ*) forms: *tāriṣat* (3.4.94).

: to consonantal monosyllabic *tīṅ pratyayas* after √*rud* and other roots: *arodat, ādat* (7.3.99ff).

āṭ : *āg* : *ā*

: to roots beginning with a vowel (like *aṭ*): *aikṣata*, etc. (6.4.72).

: to *ṅit sup pratyayas* after *nadī* words: *nadyai, vadhvai*, etc. (7.3.112).

iṭ : *ād* : *i*

: for *la* in Pr. 1st sg. ending: *pace* (3.4.78).

: *āg* : *i*

: to *ārdha pratyayas* beginning with any consonant except *y* : *pavitā, pavitum, pavitavyam* (7.2.35).

: to *sārva pratyayas* beginning with any consonant except *y*: *roditi* etc. (7.2.76);

: to *se* and *dhve* after √*īś*, √*īḍ*, and √*jan*: *iśiṣe, īḍidhve, janidhve* (7.2.76 ff).

: to *ka* added to *vatvanta* formations: *yāvatiḳa, tāvatiḳa* (5.1.23).

īṭ	*āg*	*ī*
		to consonantal *tiṅ sārv. pratyayas* after several roots under several conditions: *abravīt, vāvadīti, stavīti, āsīt, akārṣīt* (7.3.93ff).
ṅamuṭ	*āg*	*ṅ, ṇ, n*:
		to *ṅ, ṇ, n* when preceded by a short vowel and followed by a vowel: *sugaṇ +īśaḥ = sugaṇṇīśaḥ* (8.3.32).
caraṭ	*tad*	*cara*
		to several words: *āḍhya-, devadattacara* (5.3.53f).
ñyaṭ	*tad*	±′ — *ya*
		see under *ñ*.
ñyuṭ	*kṛt*	—′ ± *ana*
		see under *ñ*.
ṭa	*kṛt*	*a*
		to √*car* when compounded with *adhikaraṇa* (i.e. a word in loc.): *kurucara* (3.2.16); also in several other cases to √*kṛ*: *yaśaskara, arthakara, divākara*, etc. (3.2.20ff).
	tad	*á* = *ṭac* (6.4.145)
ṭak	*kṛt*	— = *a*,
		to √*gai*, and √*pā* (*pib*) when compounded with a word in acc., and also to √*han* when compounded with *jāyā* and *pati*: *sāmaga, surāpa, jāyāghna, patighnī* (3.2.8; 52f).

ṭac : *sam* : *á*

: see under *c*

ṭiṭhan : *tad* : —′ — *ika*

: see under *n*

teṇyaṇ : *tad* : ±′ — *eṇya*

: see under *ṇ*

ṭyaṇ : *tad* : ± — *ya*

: see under *ṇ*

ṭyu : *tad* : *ana*

: to *sāyam*, *ciram*, etc: *sāyaṁtana*, etc. (4.3.23f).

ṭyul : *tad* : — —′ *ana*

: to *sāyam*, etc: *sāyaṁtana*, etc. (4.3.23f).

ḍaṭ : *tad* : *a* (fem. *ī*)

: see under *ḍ*

ṇyuṭ : *kṛt* : — ± *ana*

: to √*gai* and √*hi*: *gāyana*, *hāyana* (3.1.147f).

tamaṭ : *āg* : *tama*

: to *ḍat* (q.v.): *viṁsatitama* etc. (5.2.56ff).

tuṭ : *āg* : *t*

: to *ṭyu*, *ṭyul* (q.v.): *sāyaṁtana* (4.3.23 etc)

thaṭ : *āg* : *tha*

: to *ḍat* (q.v.): *pañcatha*, etc. (in the Veda) (5.2.20).

dhuṭ : *āg* : *dh*

: to *s* after *ḍ* or *n* (optionally) : *madhuliṭ* + *sāye* = *madhuliṭtsāye; mahān* + *sāye* = *mahāntsāye* (8.3.29f).

nuṭ : *āg* : *n*

: to *a* (of *nañ*) compounded with a word beginning with a vowel: *anaśva* (6.3.74).

: to *ām* (*sup*) after words ending is a short vowel, *ā*, or *nadī*: *vṛkṣāṇām*, *mālānām*, *nadīnām*, etc. (7.1.54); and also after several other words: *śrīṇām*, *gonām* (only at *pādānta*), *ṣaṇṇām*, and *caturṇām* (7.1.55f).

: to *mat* after words ending in *an;* or to *gha* (i.e. *tarap, tamap*) after words ending in *n*: *akṣaṇvántaḥ, asthanvantaḥ dasyuhantamaḥ* (8.2.16ff) in the Veda.

maṭ : *āg* : *ma*

: to *ḍat* (q.v.) like *thaṭ* (q.v.): *pañcama* (5.2.49).

mayaṭ : *tad* : *maya*

: to various words in various senses: *viṣamaya, devadattamaya,* etc. (4.3.82) etc.

yāṭ : *āg* : *yā*

: to *ṅit sup* after words ending in *ā*: *mālāyāḥ* (7.3.113).

yāsuṭ : *āg* : *yās*

: to *liṅ* (Pot. endings) in *parasm* : *kuryāt* (3.4.103) (here it is *ṅit* and *udātta*).

: to *liṅ* (Bened. endings). Here it is *kit*: *jāgaryāt, iṣyāt* (3.4.104)

yiṭ : *āg* : *y*

: to *iṣṭha* (of the superlative) after *bhū* (*ād* for *bahu*): *bhūyiṣṭha* (6.4.159).

ruṭ : *āg* : *r*

: to 3rd plr *tiṅ* (*ātm*) after √*śī* in *laṭ*, *laṅ* and *loṭ* : *śerate, aśerata,* and *śeratām;* optionally after √*vid*: *saṁvidrate;* to other endings also in the Veda: *aduhran, adṛśran,* etc. (7.1.6-9)

laṭ : Theoretical Pr. endings.

liṭ : Theoretical Pf. endings.

luṭ : Theoretical Peri. Fut. endings.

lṛṭ : Theoretical Fut. endings.

leṭ : Theoretical subj. endings.

loṭ : Theoretical Impv. endings.

lyuṭ : *kṛt* : — —' *ana*

: see under *l*.

ṣīyuṭ : *āg* : *sīy*

: to Pot and Bened. *tiṅ pratyayas*: *kurvīta* (7.2.79), *pakṣīṣṭa* (3.4.102).

suṭ	*āg*	*s*
		to Pot. and Bened. *tiṅ pratyayas* beginning with *t* or *th*: *kṛṣīṣṭa* (3.4.107) etc.
	prat	The first five case endings (designated *sarvanāmasthāna*.
syāṭ	*āg*	*syā*
		to *ṅit sup pratyayas* after *ābanta* pron: *yasyai*, *tasyai*, etc. (7.3.114) etc.

ṭu

This *anubandha* has been used in the case of roots only and is placed always at the beginning as required by 1.3.5.

The presence of mute *ṭu* in a root indicates that such a root takes the affix *athuc* (=*athu*) to form abstract nouns: *ṭuvepṛ* (√*vep*) + *athuc* = *vepathu;* similarly *ṭuośví* (√*śvi*) and *ṭukṣu* (√*kṣu*) + athuc = *śvayathu,* and *kṣavathu* respectively (3.3.89).

ḍ

Mute *ḍ* has been used as *anubandha* with 15 *taddhita pratyayas,* two *ādeśas* and two *kṛt pratyayas.* It is placed always at the beginning singly in five cases, but with some other letter for a second *anubandha* at the other end in others. The letters thus used along with *ḍ* are *c* (6 times), *ṇ* and *p* (twice each), *ṭ, t* and *n* (once each). With roots is used the syllable *ḍu* which (like *ñi* and *ṭu*) has been noticed by P (1.3.5) as a separate *it* or *anubandha.* The purposes served by these letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places.

The presence of mute *ḍ* in a *pratyaya* indicates:—

(1) That before such a *pratyaya* the base drops its *ṭi* (i.e. the last of its vowels with the following consonant or consonants, if any): *kim* + *ḍati* = *k* + *ati* = *kati; kumuda* + *ḍmatup* = *kumud* + *vat* = *kumudvat,* √*kṛ* + *tās* + *ḍā* = *kartā* (6.1.143)

(2) *viṁśati* drops its final *ti* before a *ḍit pratyaya*: *viṁśati* + *ḍvun* (*aka*) = *viṁśaka; viṁśati* + *ḍaṭ* (*a*) = *viṁśa* (6.1.142)

ḍit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

ḍac : *sam* : *á*
: see under *c*

ḍaṭ : *tad* : *a* (fem. *ī*)
: see under *ṭ*

ḍaṇ : *tad* : ± — *a*
: to *triṁśat, catvāriṁśat* (to show extent): *traiṁśāni, cātvāriṁśāni* (*brāhmaṇāni*) (5.1.62)

ḍatamac	*tad*	*atamá*
		see under c
ḍatarac	*tad*	*atará*
		see under c
ḍati	*tad*	*ati*
		to *kim*: *kati* (5.2.41)
ḍā	*ād*	*ā*
		for Peri. Fut.: *kartā* (2.4.85)
	ād	*ā*
		see under *c*
ḍāp	*strī*	*ā*
		to words ending in *man*, and to *an* (at the end of *Bahu. Vr.* cpd. optionally): *pāmā, sīmā, bahurājā* (4.1.13)
ḍu	—	an *anubandha* prefixed to roots (described above)
	kṛt	*u*
		to √*bhū* with *vi, pra* and *sam*: *vibhu, prabhu, sambhu* (3.2.180)
ḍupac	*tad*	*upá*
		see under c
ḍmatup	*tad*	*mat*
		to *kumuda, naḍa, vetasa*: *kumudvat, naḍvat, vetasvat* (4.2.87)
ḍya	*tad*	*ya*
		to *vāmadeva* and optionally to *srotas*: *vāmadevya, srotasya* (4.2.9;4.113)

ḍyaṇ : *tad* : *ya*

: to *pāthas* and *nadī*: *pāthya*, *nādya* (4.4.111)

ḍyat : *tad* : *yà*

: see *ḍya* above (4.2.9;4.113)

ḍyā : *ād* : *ā*

: for inṣtr. case ending, in the Veda: *anuṣṭhyā* (7.1.39)

ḍvalac : *tad* : *valá*

: **see under *c***

ḍvun : *tad* : —' — *aḳa*

: to *viṁśati* and *triṁśat* to suggest worthiness: *viṁśaḳa*, *triṁśaḳa* (5.1.24)

ḍu

This *anubandha* has been used in the case of roots only and is placed always at the beginning as required by 1.3.5.

The presence of this *anubandha* in a root indicates that such a root takes the suffix *ktri* (=*tri*) (to which the *āgama map* must always be added according to 4.4.20) in the sence of any *kāraka* except the agent: *ḍuvap* ($\sqrt{}$*vap*) + *ktri* + *map* = *vaptrima*. Similarly from *ḍupac* and *ḍukṛñ* ($\sqrt{}$*pac* and $\sqrt{}$*kṛ*) we get *paktrima* and *kṛtrima* respectively (3.3.88)

ṇ

Mute *ṇ* has been used as *anubandha* with 18 *kṛt* and 10 *taddhita pratyayas*. [Moreover the *sarvanāmasthāna* (i.e. the first five case endings) in the case of the words *sakhi* and *go* are to be considered *ṇit,* though they do not have a mute *ṇ* attached to any one of them; while the *ādeśa ṇal* (=*a*) for *mi* of Pf. 1st sg. in spite of its mute *ṇ* is to be considered as being only optionally *ṇit*].

This letter is placed either at the beginning or at the end, and in three cases has the vowel *u* prefixed to it, evidently for ease of pronunciation. In several cases again a second *anubandha* letter is found used along with this *ṇ* placed at the other end. The letters thus used as second *anubandha* are *i, gh, ṅ, c, ṭ, t, v* and *l*. All these letters including the vowel *i* used as *anubandhas* have their own purposes to serve and these have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. Here we note only the purposes served by mute *ṇ*.

1. The presence of mute *ṇ* in a *kṛt pratyaya* indicates:—

a) That the final vowel and the penultimate *a* of the base takes *vṛddhi*: √*ji* + *ṣṭraṇ* = *jaitra*; √*cyu* + *tnaṇ* = *chyautna,* √*paṭh* + *ṇvul* = *pāṭhaka* (7.2.115, 116).

b) That the base ending in *m* of an *udāttopadeśa* root (except *ā* + √ *cam*) and also √*jan* and √*vadh* do not substitute *vṛddhi* for their penultimate: √*śam,* √*dam* + *ṇvul* = *śamaka, damaka* (7.3.34); similarly *janaka,* and *vadhaka* (7.3.35).

c) √han substitutes *t* for its *n*: *ghātaka* (*h* being changed to *gh* according to 7.3.54) (7.3.32)

2. The first five case-endings (*sarvanāmasthāna*) are to be considered *ṇtt* when applied to *go*: *gauḥ*, *gāvau*, *gāvaḥ* etc. (7.1.90); after *sakhi* also (except in the voc.sg.*sambuddhi*): *sakhā*, *sakhāyau*, etc. But voc. sg. is *sakhe* (7.1.92)

3. The *ādeśa ṇal* (=*a*) for *mip* of Pf.1st sg.is to be considered to be optionally *ṇit*, and hence will cause the *vṛddhi* of the final vowel or the penultimate *a* only optionally: √*pac*—*papāca*, *papaca*; √*śak*—*śaśāka*, *śaśaka*; √*ṇī*—*nināya*, *ninaya* (7.1.91)

4. An *ārdha*, *ṇit pratyaya* is never to be considered as being *ṅit* (for implications of this see under *ṅ*)

5. The presence of mute *ṇ* in a *taddhita pratyaya* indicates that before such a *pratyaya* the base undergoes *vṛddhi* in its first vowel: *upagu* + *aṇ* = *aupagava*; *tvaṣṭṛ* + *aṇ* = *tvāṣṭra* (9.2.117)

6. Yet another purpose served by the *anunabdha* *ṇ* is to distinguish (or identify) a root from others which are apparently identical in form. Thus √*i* (to go) is mentioned as *iṇ* (*Dh*.2.36; *PA* 2.4.45; 6.4.81) and thus distinguished from *ik* (√*i* to rember) and *iṅ* (√*i* to study). Similarly √*dā* (to give, cl.I) is mentioned as *dāṇ* (*Dh*.1.977) to distinguish it from √*dā* (to give, cl.III) (*Dh*.3.9); and P has referred to this *dāṇ* in 1.3.55; and 7.3.78.

7. Lastly *ṇ* in the *Śivasūtra* (occurring twice) has given us four *pratyāhāras*, namely *aṇ* (with *ṇ* in the first *Śivasūtra*) and *aṇ*, *iṇ*, and *yaṇ* (with *ṇ* in the sixth *Śivasūtra*). In this connection may be noticed the following couplet:

pūrveṇaivāṇgrahāḥ sarve pareṇaiveṇgrahā matāḥ/

ṛte'ṇuditsavarṇasyety eka eva pareṇa tu//

ṇit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order) :—

aṇ	: *kṛt*	: — ± *a*
		: to roots compounded with a word in the accusative: *kumbhakāra* (3.2.1.ff)
	: *tad*	: ± — *a*
		: to several words in several senses: *aupagava* (4.1.83 etc.)
ghinuṇ	: *kṛt*	: — ± *in*
		: see under *gh*
caṇ	: *nipāta*	: *ca*
		: meaning *cet* (8.1.30)
chaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *īya*
		: to *pitṛṣvasṛ*: *paitṛṣvasrīya* (4.1.132); also see 4.1.134; 2.80; etc.
ciṇ	: *vik*	: — ± *i*
		: see under *c*.
ṭeṇyaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *eṇya*
		: to *vṛka*: *vārkeṇya* (5.3.115)
ṭyaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *ya*
		: to *soma* : *saumya* (4.2.30)
ḍaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *a*
		: see under *ḍ*
ḍyaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *ya*
		: see under *ḍ*

ṇa	: *kṛt*	: — ± *a* : to √*jval* and other roots: *jvāla*, *cāla*, *dāya*, *avaśyāya*, etc. (3.1.140; 141 etc.)
	: *tad*	: ± — *a* : to various words: *gārgaḥ* etc. (4.1.147 etc.)
ṇac	: *kṛt*	: — ± *á* : see under *c*
ṇamul	: *kṛt*	: — ±′ *am* : to roots in various senses: *vibhājam*, etc. (3.4.12, etc.)
ṇal	: *ād*	: — ±′ *a* : for Pf. 3rd sg. ending *parasm*: *papāca* (3.4.82) : for Pf. 1st sg. ending optionally *ṇit*: *papāca*, *papaca* (7.1.91).
ṇi	= *ṇiṅ*,	*ṇic* (q.v.)
ṇiṅ	: *rfs*	: — ± *i* : see under *ṇ*
ṇic	: *rfs*	: — ± *í* : see under *c*
ṇin	: *kṛt*	: — ± *in* : see *ṇini* (*kṛt*) (6.2.79)
ṇini	: *kṛt*	: — ± *in* : to roots *grah* etc.: *grāhin* etc (3.1.154)

: *tad* : ± — *in*
: to *kāśyapa* etc.: *kāśyapin* (4.3.103) etc.

ṇyat = *ṇyat* : 7.3.65; 4.1.85; etc.

ṅyat : *kṛt* : — ± *yà*
: *tad* : ± — *yà*
: see under *t*.

ṇyuṭ : *kṛt* : — ± *ana*
: see under *ṭ*

ṇvi : *kṛt* : — ± *v* (dropped, acc. 6.1.67)
: to √*bhaj* when compounded with a *subanta*: *ardhabhāk* (3.2.62); to √*vah* and other roots: *havyavāṭ* (3.2.63.)

ṇvin : *kṛt* : —′ ± *v* (dropped acc. 6.1.67)
: to *śvetavah*, *ukthaśās*, etc. in the Veda: *śvetavāḥ* etc. (3.2.71); also *avayāḥ* (3.2.72)

ṇvuc : *kṛt* : — ± *aká* (fem. *ikā*)
: see under *c*

ṇvul : *kṛt* : — ±′ *aka*
: to roots: *kāraka*, *hāraka*, etc. (3.1.133) etc.

t

Mute *t* has been used as *anubandha* with five *pratyayas* only and stands always at the end. With three *pratyayas* it is used singly; while with two others it is used along with *ḍ* and *ṇ* respectively as second *anubandhas* placed at the *beginning*. The purposes served by *ḍ* and *ṇ* have been explained and illustrated in their proper places.

The presence of mute *t* in a *pratyaya* indicates that such a *pratyaya* (and hence the word formed by its addition) has the *svarita* accent on its final syllable (6.1.185).

There are, however, the following exceptions to this general rule:—

1. Disyllabic words formed with the addition of the suffix *yat* (=*ya*) have the acute on their initial syllable. The only exception to this rule is *nāvyà* (*nau* + *yat*), which follows the general rule, (i.e. 6.1.185) and, is, therefore, *antasvarita* (6.1. 213).

ii. The other exception to the general rule is *ṇyat* (=*ya*). Words derived from the roots *īḍ*, *vand*, *vṛ*, *śaṁs*, and *duh* with the addition of *ṇyat* have the acute on their initial syllable: *ī́ḍya*, *vā́rya*, *vándya*, etc. (6.1.214).

One more purpose served by the mute *t* is to indicate that the vowel to which it is attached stands for itself and not for its *savarṇas* also. Thus simple *a*, for example, in *P's* system is a designation of *hrasva*, *dīrgha* as well as *pluta a*. But with mute *t* attached to it, it (=*at*) becomes a designation of *a* (i.e. short *a*) only. (1.1.70). Thus the *sūtra*, *ato bhisa ais*, owing to the word *ataḥ* (from *at* i.e. *tapara a*), applies only to the words ending in *a* (= *short a*) and not to the words ending in *ā* (= *long a*). Hence we get *vṛkṣaiḥ* (with the substitution of *bhis* by *ais*), but only *mālābhiḥ* (where the substitution is not admissible). But it appears that this rule does not always hold good even in P's *sūtras* particularly where *t* has been attached to long vowels: read *Kāśikā's* remark on *ādṛgamahanajanaḥ kikinau liṭ ca,* 3.3.171; *āditi takāro mukhasukhārthaḥ natvayaṁ taparaḥ.*

tit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

ḍyat : *tad* : *yà*
: see under *ḍ*

ṇyat : *kṛt* : — ± *yà*
: to roots ending in *u* or *ṛ*, or a consonant, and to several other roots: *kārya, pākya, lāvya, āsāvya, ānāyya,* etc. (3.1.120; 122 ff)

: *tad* : ± — *yà*
: to *ṣaṇmāsa*: *ṣāṇmāsya* (5.1.83 f)

tavyat : *kṛt* : *tavyà*
: to roots: *kartavya* (3.1.96)

yat : *kṛt* : *yà*
: to roots ending in a vowel: *geya, peya* (3.1.97) and to several other roots: *śapya, śakya* etc. (3.1.98-105).

: *tad* : *yà*
: to *rājan, śvaśura* etc.: *rājanya, śvaśurya* (4.1.137) etc.

vyat : *tad* : *vyà*
: to *bhrātṛ*: *bhrātṛvya* (4.1.144)

n

Mute *n* has been used as *anubandha* with one *vikaraṇa*, 30 *kṛt* and 17 *taddhita pratyayas*. It is also found at the end of one more *kṛt pratyaya* (*tran*) which is in fact an *uṇādi pratyaya;* and it has to be noted that P has quoted it to lay down a rule regarding the effect of it on the base to which it is applied (6.4.37).

This letter also stands always at the end and at times has the vowel *i* (as in *kin, kvin, ṇvin*), *u* (as in *īyasun, tumun, tosun, kasun, ṣvun*) and *ṛ* (as in *atṛn*) prefixed to it, evidently for ease of pronunciation. Some other letters also are used along with it as second *anubandhas*. Thus *k*, *ṣ* and *ś* have been used seven, five and three times respectively; while *kh, gh, ṭi, ḍ* and *ṇ* have been used once each. In some of these *pratyayas* the letters *gha, ṭha, yu* and *vu* stand for *iya, ika, ana and aka* respectively; and in two more the whole *pratyaya* comes to zero. The purposes served by these various letters as *anubandhas* have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. Here we note the purposes served by mute *n* only.

The presence of mute *n* in a *pratyaya* etc. indicates accentuation in various ways as follows:—

i) Words formed by the addition of *nit pratyayas* have the acute on their initial syllable (6.1.197).

ii) In the *gati samāsas*, the *gati* (see 1.4.60-73) retains its original accent when compounded with a verbal formation (*kṛdanta*) formed by addition of a *nit pratyaya* beginning with *t* (with the exception of *tu*). (Here again it has to be noted that this *pratyaya tu* i.e. *tun* belongs to *uṇādi* and has not been actually laid down by P himself) (6.2.50).

nit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

adhyain	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *adhyai* : to roots: *upācaradhyai* (3.4.9)
an	: *tad*	: —′ — *a* : to *tīya* (*svārthe*): *dvitīya, tṛtīya;* also to other numerals (5.3.48; 49 ff).
asen	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *ase* : to roots: *jīvase* (3.4.9)
in	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *i* : to √*kṛ* when compounded with *stamba, śakṛt*: *stambakari, śakṛtkari*; and also to the roots *van, san, rakṣ* and *math* in the Veda: *goṣaṇi pathirakṣi*, etc. (3.2.24,27 etc.)
iṣṭhan	: *tad*	: —′ — *iṣṭha* : to words to form superlatives: *paṭiṣṭha* (5.3.55)
īkan	: *tad*	: —′ — *īka* : to *khārī* with *adhyardha* or a numeral as the first member: *adhyardha*—, *dvikhārīka* (5.1.33)
īyasun	: *tad*	: —′ — *īyas* : to words to form comparatives: *paṭīyas* (5.3.57)
īran	: *tad*	: —′ — *īra* : to *kāṇḍa*: *kāṇḍīra* (5.2.111)

kan : *tad* : —′ — *ka*

: to various words in various senses: *madraka, vṛjīka, siṁdhuka, apakaraka* etc. (4.2.131; 3.32; 85 etc.)

kasun : *kṛt* : —′ = *as*

: to √*sṛp and* √*tṛd*: *visṛpaḥ, ātṛdaḥ* (3.4.17) in the Veda to signify *bhāva*. (also see 3.4.13)

kasen : *kṛt* : —′ = *ase*

: to roots: *śríyase* (3.4.9)

kin : *kṛt* : —′ = *i*

: to roots ending in *ā, ṛ*, as also to roots *gam, han* and *jan* in the Veda: **pápi**, *táturi, jágmi, jághni, jájñi* (3.2.171)

ken : *kṛt* : —′ = *e*

: to roots in the sense of *kṛtya*: **avagāhe** (3.4.14)

ktin : *kṛt* : —′ = *ti*

: to roots to form abstract nouns; *kṛti, citi* etc. (3.3.94 ff).

klukan : *kṛt* : —′ = *luka* (also *ruka*)

: to √*bhī*: *bhīlu(ru)ka* (3.2.174)

kvin : *kṛt* : —′ = *v* (dropped acc. 6.1.67)

: √*spṛs′* when compounded with its object: *ghṛtaspṛk* (3.2.58)

khyun : *kṛt* : —′ — *ana*

: see under *kh*

ghan : *tad* : —′ — *iya*
: see under *gh*

ṭiṭhan : *tad* : —′ — *ika*
: to *śrāṇa, māṁsaudana, kaṁsa, ardha*: *śrāṇika, māṁsaudanika, kaṁsika, ardhika* (5.1.25)

ṭhan : *tad* : —′ — *ika*
: to *nau,* disyllabic words, etc. in various senses: *nāvika, plavika, krayika* etc. (4.4.7 etc.)

ḍyun : *tad* : —′ — *aka*
: see under *ḍ*

ṇvin : *kṛt* : —′ ± *v* (dropped acc. 6.1.67)
: see under *ṇ*

taven : *kṛt* : —′ — *tave*
: to roots: *gantave, kartave* (3.4.9)

tikan : *tad* : —′ — *tika*
: to *mṛd* (*svārthe*): *mṛttikā* (5.4.39)

tumun : *kṛt* : —′ — *tum*
: to roots in various senses: *bhoktum* (3.3. 10; 158; etc.)

tṛn : *kṛt* : —′ — *tṛ*
: to roots in the sense of *tācchīlya*: *kartā, vaditā* etc. (3.2.135).

tosun : *kṛt* : —′ — tos
: to roots *sthā, i, kṛ, vad, car, hu* and *jan*: *sthā́toḥ, étoḥ, kártoḥ* etc. (3.4.16)

tyakan	: *tad*	: —′ — *tyaka*
		: to *upa* and *adhi*: *upa-*, *adhityakā* (5.2.34)
tran	: *uṇ*	: —′ — *tra* (see 6.4.97)
tvan	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *tva*
		: to roots (*kṛtyārthe*) : *kártva* (3.4.14)
thakan	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *thaka* (*thikā*)
		: to √*gai*: *gāthaka* (—*thikā*) (3.1.146)
thyan.	: *tad*	: —′ — *thya*
		: to *aja* and *avi*: *ajathyā*, *avithyā* (5.1.8)
nan	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *na*
		: to √*svap*: *svápna* (3.3.91)
phin	: *tad*	: —′ — *āyani*
		: to various words: *glucukāyani* (4.1.160)
manin	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *man*
		: to roots ending in *ā*: *sudāmā*, *aśvatthāmā* (3.2.74)
yan	: *tad*	: —′ — *ya*
		: to *brāhmaṇa* etc: *brāhmaṇya* etc. (4.2.42)
vun	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *aka*
		: to roots *pru*, *sṛ*, *lū* etc. *pravaka saraka*, *lavaka* (3.1.149) ; to all roots (to signify blessings) : *jīvaka*, *nandaka*, etc. (3.1.150)
	: *tad*	: —′ — *aka*
		: *to krama* etc: *kramaka*, *mīmāṁsaka* etc. (4.2.61)

vyan	: *tad*	: —′ — *vya* : to *bhrātṛ* to signify *sapatna*: *bhrātṛvya* (4.1.145)
śadhyain	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *adhyai* : to roots: *pibadhyai, mādayadhyai* (3.4.9)
śānan	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *āna* : to √ *pū* and √*yaj*: *pavamāna, yajamāna* (3.2.128)
śyan	: *vik*	: —′ — *ya* : to roots of cl. IV: *dīvyati* (3.1.69)
ṣākan	: *tad*	: —′ — *āka* : to roots *jalp, bhikṣ, kuṭṭ* etc.: *jalpāka, bhikṣāka, kuṭṭāka*, etc. (3.2.155)
ṣkan	: *tad*	: —′ — *ka* : to *pathin*: *pathika* (5.1.75)
ṣṭran	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *tra* : to √*dhā* and √*dhe*: *dhātrī* (3.2.181); also to serveral roots such as √*dā* √*nī*, √*śas*, etc: *dātra, netra, śastra*, etc. (3.2.182)
ṣṭhan	: *tad*	: —′ — *ika* : to several words: *puroḍāśika* (4.3.70)
ṣvun	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *aka* : to roots to signify an artisan: *nartaka, khanaka* etc. (3.1.145)
san	: *rfs*	: —′ — *sa* : to roots to form desiderative: *cikīrṣati*: (3.1.5f). : to some other roots (*svārthe*): *jugupsate* etc. (3.1.7)
sen	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *se* : to roots: *eṣe* (3.4.9)

p

Mute *p* has been used as *anubandha* with *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* as also with *kṛt* and *taddhita pratyayas*. This *anubandha* stands always at the end and has the vowel *i* prefixed to it in five cases (*kvanip*, *kvip*, *ṅvanip*, *vanip* and *sip*) and *u* in three (*ḍmatup*, *matup*, and *vatup*) for ease of pronunciation. (For other purposes of *u* see under *u* also). Though often used singly, it has occasionally other letters also used along with it at the beginning of the *pratyayas* etc. as a second *anubandha*. The letters thus used are *k*, *ṅ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *l* and *ś* whose purposes as *anubandhas* have been explained and illustrated in their proper places.

The presence of mute *p* in a *pratyaya* (of any variety) indicates that the *pratyaya* is *enclitic* (3.1.4). In fact in several *pratyayas* mute *p* has no other purpose to serve but to indicate that the *pratyayas* are enclitic. Such *pratyayas* are: *ap*, *āp*, *enap*, *kap*, *kalpap*, *kuṇap*, *ṅīp*, *caṇap*, *cuñcup*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhap*, *ḍāp*, *ḍmatup*, *tanap*, *tap*, *tamap*, *tayap*, *tarap*, *tyap*, *pāśap*, *matup*, *map*, *yap*, *rūpap*, *vatup* and *sip* (of *leṭ*, 3.1.34).

The *anubandha p* appearing along with the *anubandha c* (which indicates oxytonisation of the formation) loses its force as regards accentuation. In such cases the purpose served by it is *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighāta* only. This circumstance has given rise to the *pbh*, *pitsvarāt citsvaro balīyān*. (see Introduction).

Some *pratyayas* do not have mute *p* attached to them and yet are declared to be *pit*: such are the first personal endings of Impv. (3.4.92). The termination *hi* of Impv. 2nd sg. substituted for *sip* (=*si*) is not to be considered *pit*; and is, therefore, marked acute (3.4.87), but optionally so in the Veda (3.4.88).

Another important point to remember is that a *sārva. pit pratyaya* is never *ṅit* (1.2.4) (For the implications of this see under *ṅ*).

Before *pit pratyayas,* the bases undergo, several modifications that may be noticed under two separate heads:—

(A) Modifications before *sārva. pit pratyayas*:

i. Bases ending in *u* take *vṛddhi*: √*nu*—*naumi*; √*stu*—*staumi* (7.3.89)

ii. √*ūrṇu* takes *vṛddhi* optionally: *prorṇauti* or *prorṇoti* (7.3.90); it takes *guṇa* only before *apṛkta* (=*ekāl*) consonantal terminations: *prorṇot* (7.3.91)

iii. √*tṛh* and √*brū* take the augments *im* (=*i*) and *īṭ* (=*ī*) respectively before consonantal *sārva. pit pratyayas*: *tṛṇehmi, bravīti* (7.3.92,93).

iv. After *yaṅ* (*y* of the Intensive *yaṅ* which gets zeroed), these *pit pratyayas take īṭ* (=*ī*) *āgama*: *vāvadīti, roravīti* (7.3.94)

v. Roots *bhī, hrī, bhṛ, hu, mad, jan, dhan, daridrā* and *jāgṛ* before a *la sārva pratyaya* have the acute on the syllable immediately preceding the *pratyaya*. Such *pratyays* are *tip* (*ti*), *mip* (*mi*), and *sip* (*si*): *bibhárti, mamáttu, juhóti* etc. (6.1.192)

(B) Modifications before *ārdha. pit pratyayas*:

Roots ending in a short vowel take the augment *tuk* (=*t*): *pra* + √*kṛ* + *lyap* = *prakṛ* + *t* + *ya* = *prakṛtya;* similarly *prahṛtya; soma* +√*su* + *kvip* = *somasu* + *t* + *kvip* = *somasut* (6.1.71).

The *ārdh.kṛt pit pratyayas* are *kyap, kvarap, kvanip, kvip, ḍvanip, lyap,* and *vanip*. (For illustrations and references see under these *pratyayas* below)

Three more purposes remain to be noticed:

(1) Formation of *pratyāhāra*: The case-endings noticed by P in 4.1.2 are often referred to by P himself in several places by the *pratyāhāra sup* (formed on the analogy of the other well-known *pratyāhāras* such as *ac* and *hal*). The *pratyāhāra āp* is used at 7.2.112 to signify all case-endings from instr. sg. upto loc. plr.

(2) *p* has been added or attached in the suffix *cāp* (fem. suffix *ā*) for forming a common designation (namely *āp*) and the inclusion of all the three (namely *cāp*, *ṭāp* and *ḍāp*) under it. (for a similar case see *ṅīn*, *ṅīp* and *ṅīṣ* explained under *ṣ* below).

(3) In the case of the roots *daip* (*DP* 1.971) and, *dāp* (*DP*. 2.50) the *anubandha p* has been used to distinguish them from other roots, which in their linguistic form appear as *dā*, and to which (along with √*dhā*) P has given the technical designation *ghu* (1.1.20).

pit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

ap : *kṛt* : *a*
: to roots ending in *ṛ* and *u* and to several other roots: *kara, gara, lava,* etc. (3.3.57ff)

: *sam* : *a*
: to *Bah. Vr.* cpds. with a *pūraṇī* word (or an ordinal) or the word *pramāṇī* as the second member: *kalyāṇīpañcamaḥ*, *strīpramāṇaḥ* (5.4.116, 117)

āp : *strī* = *chāp, ṭāp, ḍāp*
: *prat.* : for *sup* from instr. sg. to loc.plr (7.2.112)

enap : *tad* : *ena*
: to *uttara, adhara, dakṣiṇa*:*uttereṇa* etc. (5.3.35)

kap : *sam* : *ka*
: to *uras* etc. at the end of *Bah.Vr* cpd.: *vyūḍhoraska* (5.4.151)
: *kṛt* : — = *a*
: to √*duh*: *kāmadughā* (3.2.70) etc.

kalpap : *tad* : *kalpa*
: to several words: *paṭukalpa* (5.3.67)

kuṇap : *tad* : *kuṇa*
: to *pīlu* etc: *pīlukuṇa* (5.2.24)

kyap : *kṛt* : — = *ya*
: see under *k*

kvanip: : *kṛt* : — = *van*
: see under *k*

kvarap : *kṛt* : — = *vara*
: see under *k*

kvip : *kṛt* : — = *v* (dropped acc.6.1.67)
: see under *k*

ṅīp : *strī* : *ī*
: see under *ṅ*

caṇap	*tad*	*caṇa*	to a word in instr. in the sense of *known thereby*: *keśacaṇa* (5.2.26)
cuñcup	*tad*	*cuñcu*	same as *caṇap*: *vidyācuñcu* (5.2.26)
ṭāp	*strī*	*ā*	to words *aja* etc. and words ending in *a*: *ajā, eḍakā, ekapuṣpā* (4.1.4;9)
ṭhap	*tad*	*ika*	to *prāvṛṣ*: *prāvṛṣika* (4.3.26)
ḍāp	*strī*	*ā*	see under *ḍ*
ḍmatup	*tad*	*mat*	see under *ḍ*
tanap	*ād*	*tana*	for *ta* (Impv. 2nd plr): *sunotana* (7.1.45)
tap	*ād*	*ta*	for *ta* (Impv. 2nd plr): *sunota* (7.1.45)
tamap	*tad*	*tama*	to words to form superlative: *āḍhyatama* (5.3.55)
tayap	*tad*	*taya*	to numerals (*avayavārthe*): *pañcataya* (5.2.42)

tarap	*tad*	*tara* to words to form comparative: *āḍhyatara* (5.3.57)
tip	*tiṅ*	*ti* to roots: *karoti* (3.4.78)
tyap	*tad*	*tya* to indeclinables: *amātya*, *ihatya* etc. (4.2.104)
pāśap	*tad*	*pāśa* to a word to signify derision: *vaiyākaraṇapāśa* (5.3.47)
matup	*tad*	*mat* to words: *madhumat* (4.2.86) etc.
map	*tad*	*ma* to *trin* (added to roots): *paktrima* (4.4.20)
yap	*tad*	*ya* to a *Dvigu* cpd. ending in *māsa* to signify age: *dvimāsya* (5.1.82)
rūpap	*tad*	*rūpa* to words to signify *praśaṁsā*: *vaiyākaraṇarūpa* (5.3.66)
mip	*tiṅ*	*mi* to roots: *karomi* (3.4.78) etc.
lyap	*ād*	— =' *ya* for *ktvā*: see under *l*

vatup	*tad*	*vat*	to *yat, tat,* and *etat* to show *extent*: *yāvat, tāvat, etāvat* etc. (5.2.39)
vanip	*kṛt*	*van*	to roots ending in *ā*: *bhūridāvā, ghṛtapāvā* etc. (3.2.74) etc.
śap	*vik*	*a*	see under *ś*
sip	*tiṅ*	*si*	to roots: *karoṣi* (3.4.78)
	vik	*s* (of *leṭ*)	to roots when followed by *leṭ* (subj.) endings: *jośiṣat, tāriṣat* (3.1.34) etc.

m

Mute *m* has been used as *anubandha* with roots, *āgamas* and a *vikaraṇa*.

Roots *ghaṭ* etc. (about 70, all belonging to cl. I), the roots *jan, jṝ* and *rañj,* and the roots ending in *am* (except √*kam,* √*am,* and √*cam*) are said to be *mit;* while roots *jval, hval, glai, snai, vam,* and van are optionally so when they have no prefix; and √*śam* and √*yam* are *mit* when they signify *adarśana* and *uparama* respectively, (see *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti,* pp. 193-201).

With *āgamas* it is placed at the end only; but has the vowels *a* and *u* prefixed to it once (in *ram*) and thrice (in *num, pum* and *mum*) respectively. In the case of the *vikaraṇa śnam.* another letter (*ś*) has been prefixed to it as a second *anubandha* to indicate that it is *sārvadhātuka* (see under *ś*). The use of the vowels *a* and *u* before mute *m* is evidently for ease of pronunciation.

The presence (actual or supposed) of mute *m* in the case of roots indicates: (1) that such roots have their penultimate (*upadhā*) short (ie. not lengthened) before *ṇi* (i.e. causal sign): *ghaṭayati, jvalayati, glapayati, śamayati,* etc. (6.4.92): and (2) that they lengthen it optionally before *ciṇ* (i.e. *i* of *Aor.* Pass. 3rd sg.) and *ṇamul* (i.e. *am* of the Absolutive): *aśami* or *aśāmi; tamam* or *tāmam* (6.4.92f).

In the case of *āgama* as well as *vikaraṇa,* the presence of mute *m* indicates that they (*āgama* and *vikaraṇa*) are to be placed after the last vowel in the base (and not at the end of it like other *pratyayas*): √*muc* + *num* + *śa* + *tip* = *muñc* + *a* + *ti* = *muñcati; aṭ* + √*pat* + *pum* + *aṅ* + *t* = *apapt* + *at* = *apaptat* (7.1.58;7.4.19); √*rudh* + *śnam* + *mip* = *ruṇadh* + *mi* = *ruṇadhmi* (3.1.78).

Mute *m* at the end of the 7th *Śivasūtra* has given us three *pratyāhāras*, which have been used by P. The *pratyāhāras* with reference to their occurrence in P's work are: *am* (8.3.6), *ṅam* (8.3.32), and *yam* (8.4.64). The *Kāśikā* quotes *ñam* as yet another *pratyāhāra* and notices only with disapproval the view of some grammarians who would reject *m* as *anubandha* altogether and would have all these *pratyāhāras* with mute *ñ* only. (see under *Śivasūtra* 7).

We should also note two more terms, *anum* and *sanum* used by P. The former, meaning 'having no *num*' occurs at 6.1.173, where it has been laid down that after an *anum śatṛ* (i.e. present participle affix *at* not having the augment *n*) the fem. suffix *ī* and the case endings beginning with a vowel from instr. sg. onwards have the *udātta* accent: *uśát* + *ī* = *uśatí; uśát* + *e* = *uśaté*. Similarly *uśatáḥ* and *uśatā́m*.

The other term occurs at 1.4.32 and means simply 'having an *anusvāra* (natural or otherwise)', without any reference whatsoever to the augment *num* (=*n*).

mit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):

ām	: *āg*	: *ā́*
		: to *catur*, and *anaḍuh* (before *sarvanāmasthāna pratyayas*): *catvāraḥ*, *anaḍvān* (7.1.98).
im	: *āg*	: *i*
		: to √*tṛh* before *halanta pit sārv. pratyayas*: *tṛṇehmi* (7.3.92)
um	: *āg*	: *u*
		: to √*vac* before *aṅ* (of Aor.): *avocat* (7.4.20)

num	: *āg*	: *n*	: to roots with mute *i;* and to roots and root nouns under various circumstances: *muñcati, kuṇḍitā, śreyān, yuṅ,* etc. (7.1.58 ff., 78 ff)
pum	: *āg*	: *p*	: to √*pat* before *aṅ* (of Aor.): *apaptat* (7.4.19)
mum	: *āg*	: *m*	: to *aruṣ, dviṣat,* and words ending in a vowel when followed by a *khidanta* formation in a cpd.: *aruṁtuda dviṣaṁtapa* (6.3.67); and in several other words such as *satyaṅkāra, rātriṁcara,* etc. (6.3.70 ff).
ram	: *āg*	: *r*	: to √*bhrasj* (in place of *r* and *s*): *babhrajja* (6.4.47).
śnam	: *vik*	: *na*	: to roots of cl. VII: *ruṇaddhi* (3.1.78)

y

Mute *y* has not been used as *anubandha* by P in any of his *sūtras*. It has, however, occurred at the end of the 12th *Śiva-sūtra* and is responsible for no less than four *pratyāhāras* which P has made use of in his work.

The *pratyāhāras* with references to P's work are: *khay* (8.3.6); *jhay* (8.4.62); *may* (8.3.33); and *yay* (8.4.58).

r

Mute *r* has been used as *anubandha* singly and only at the end with only three *pratyayas,* two *taddhita* and one *kṛt*. The *Vārttiḳaḳāra* has given us one more *kṛit pratyaya,* namely ***kelimar*** under 3.1.96.

The presence of mute *r* in a *pratyaya* indicates that the words formed with the addition of such *pratyayas* will have the acute on the penultimate syllable (6.1.217): ***upajīvanī́ya*** (AV. 8.10.22); *āmantraṇī́ya* (*AV*. 8.10.7)

Mute *r* is also useful in forming *pratyāhāras*. The five *pratyāhāras* that we get with mute *r* (at the end of the 13th *Śivasūtra*) are *khar, car, jhar, yar* and *śar*.

rit pratyayas with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

anī́yar	: *ḳṛt*	: *anī́ya*
		: to roots to form gerundive (*ḳṛtyārthe*): *upajīvanī́ya, āmantraṇī́ya* (3.1.96)
ḳelimar	: *ḳṛt*	: *elima*
		: to roots: *bhidelima* (3.1.96.1)
jātīyar	: *tad*	: *jātī́ya*
		: to *prātipadiḳas* to signify *praḳāra, paṭujātīyaḥ* (5.3.69).
deśīyar	: *tad*	: *deśī́ya*
		: to *prātipadiḳas*: *paṭudeśī́ya* (5.3.67)

l

Mute *l* has been used as *anubandha* with three *ādeśas*, eight *kṛt pratyayas* and twelve *taddhita pratyayas*. The letter *l* found in the ten *lakāras* (*laṭ*, *liṭ*, etc.) and also in *cli* (of the Aorist) and *ślu* (*vik* of class III) is not to be considered as *anubandha* in the real sense of the term. As *anubandha* the letter can stand at the beginning or at the end; but in the case of *taddhita pratyayas* it can stand at the end only (cf.1.3.8). Thus in all the twelve *taddhita pratyayas* mute *l* is found at the end only and in one of them (*tasil*) it has the vowel *i* prefixed to it, evidently for ease of pronunciation. One *taddhita* suffix (*ṣṭhal*) has a second *anubandha* letter *ṣ* standing at the beginning. Among the *kṛt pratyayas*, two (*kamul*, and *ṇamul*) have the vowel *u* prefixed to *l*.

In all other cases mute *l* has been used by itself; and has at times some other *anubandha* such as *k, kh, ṭ, ṇ, p* and *ṣ* used at the other end. The purposes served by these letters have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. It has to be observed here that *yu* (in *ṭyul, lyu* and *lyuṭ*), *vu* (in *ṇvul*), and *ṭha* (in *ṣṭhal*) stand for *ana, aka* and *ika* respectively. (cf.7.1.1; 3.50).

The presence of mute *l* in a *pratyaya* etc. indicates that a word formed with the addition of a *lit pratyaya* etc. has the acute on the syllable immediately preceding it (6.1.193). In other words this means that before such *pratyayas* etc. the base to which they are appended is oxytone: *vipṛ'ccham* (*RV* 7.86.3); *saṁgṛ'bhya* (*RV* 1.53.3); *saṁgátya* (*RV*. 10. 97.21).

Mute *l* also serves to form *pratyāhāras*. With this letter, occurring at the end of the last *Śivasūtra*, we get six *pratyāhāras*. They are: *al, jhal, ral val, śal* and *hal*.

lit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order:—

āl : *ād* : — —′ *ā*
: for case-ending *ṅi* (loc.sg.): ***vasantā*** (7.1.39).

ḳamul : *kṛt* : — =′ *am*
: see under *k*

ḳhal : *kṛt* : — —′ *a*
: see under *kh*

ṭyul : *tad* : — —′ *ana*
: see under ṭ

ṇamul : *kṛt* : — ±′ *am*
: see under *ṇ*

ṇal : *ād* : — ±′ *a*
: see under *ṇ*

ṇvul : *kṛt* : — ±′ *aḳa*
: see under *ṇ*

tal : *tad* : — —′ *ta* (*tā*)
: to *grāma, jana,* etc. to signify a group: *janatā* etc. (4.2.43)
: to *prātipadikas* to form abstract nouns: *gotā, aśvatā* (5.1.119ff)
: to *deva* (*svārthe*): *devatā* (5.4.27)

tasil : *tad* : — —′ *tas*
: to words in the sense of abl: *kutaḥ, yataḥ, paritaḥ, abhitaḥ,* etc. (5.3.7ff)

tātil	: *tad*	: — —' *tāti*
		: to *sarva, deva* (*svāthe* in the Veda): *sarvatāti, devatāti* (4.4.142)
		: to other words such as *śiva, śam,* and *ariṭṣa*: *śivatāti, śaṁtāti, ariṣṭatāti* (4.4.143)
		: to *jyeṣṭha* (in the Veda) : *jyeṣṭhatāti* (4.4.144)
til	: *tad*	: — —' *ti*
		: to *vṛka* (in the Veda): *vṛkáti* (5.4.41)
tral	: *tad*	: — —' *tra*
		: to words in the loc.sense: ***kutra, yatra*** (5.3.10ff)
thal	: *ād*	: — —' *tha*
		: for Pf.2nd sg: *pecitha* (3.4.82)
thāl	: *tad*	: — —' *thā*
		: to pronouns etc.: *yathā, sarvathā* (5. 3.23)
		: to *pratna, pūrva, viśva* and *ima* (in the Veda): *pratnathā; pūrvathā,* etc. (5. 3.111)
bhaktal	: *tad*	: — —' *bhakta*
		: to *aiṣukāri* etc: *aiṣukāribhakta* (4.2.54)
yal	: *tad*	: — —' *ya*
		: to *veśobhaga, yaśobhaga*: *veśobhagya, yaśobhagya* (4.4.131)

rhil	*tad*	— —' *rhi*	to *idam, tad,* etc.: *etarhi, tarhi* (5.2.16.20ff)
lyap	*ād*	—' ≃ *ya*	for *ktvā*: *prakṛtya, āhūya* (7.1.37)
lyu	*kṛt*	— —' *ana*:	to roots *nand,* etc: *nandana,* etc. (3.1.134)
lyuṭ	*kṛt*	— —' *ana*	to roots in various senses: *prapatana* (3.3.113); in the sense of *karaṇa adhikaraṇa* and *bhāva; pākasāsana, godohanī, śayana* (3.3.115 ff)
vidhal	*tad*	— —' *vidha*	to *bhauriki* etc: *bhaurikīvidha* (4.2.54)
ṣṭhal	*tad*	— —' *ika*	to *ākarṣa, āvasatha*: *ākarṣika, āvasathika* (4.4.9,74)

v

This letter has nowhere been used as an *anubandha* by P. It, however, occurs in the *Śivasūtra* *kaphachaṭhathacaṭatav* and has been utilised by P to form one *pratyāhāra* (*chav*) which he has used in *naśchavyapraśān* (8.3.7)

The simple and single phonem *v* forming a suffix is dropped and as such corresponds to what is known as the zero **suffix**. (*ver apṛktasya*, 6.1.67). Such suffixes are *kvin, kvip, ṇvi, cvī, viṭ*, etc.

ś

Mute *ś* has been used as *anubandha* with *ādeśas*, *vikaraṇas* and *kṛt*, *sup*, and *tiṅ pratyayas*. In the case of *vikaraṇas* (six in all) it always stands at the beginning. Three of them have a second *anubandha* letter (*n*, *p*, or *m*) which naturally is placed at the end. The *ādeśas* with which mute *ś* is used are substitutes for *sup*, *tiṅ*, *vikaraṇa*, and *kṛt*, *pratyayas*; or for *prātipadika* and *dhātus*. In them as also in the *kṛt pratyayas* it stands more at the beginning than at the end and at times with some other *anubandha* letter such as *ṛ*, *c*, *n*, *p*, or *m* at the other end. As a matter of fact *ś* mute can stand at either end. It is, however, to be noted that there is no *taddhita* at all having a mute *ś*.

The purposes served by the other mute letters (used along with *ś*) have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. Here we note the purposes served by mute *ś* under different heads.

In the case of *ādeśa*, the presence of a mute *ś* indicates that the *ādeśa* is to be substituted for the whole of the original base or *sthānin* (mentioned in the *sūtra*) for which it is enjoined. (1.1.55)

In the case of *kṛt pratyayas*, the presence of mute *ś* indicates that such *pratyayas* are *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113). Now the *sārv. pratyayas*, when not *pit*, are to be considered *ṅit* (1.2.4); and secondly there are several rules regarding accentuation having reference to *la sārvadhātuka pratyayas* (6.1.186; 188-90; 192).

In the case of the *sup pratyaya śas* (= *as* of acc. plr.), this letter has been used to distinguish it from *jas* (= *as* of nom. plr.). So there it is *viśeṣaṇārtha*. In *eś* (*ādeśa* for the personal ending of Pf. 3rd sg. *ātm*), however, it is *sarvādeśārtha* (see *Kāśikā* on 3.4.81).

Besides these general indications of mute *ś*, there are certain other modifications that roots undergo before *śit pratyayas*. We may note the following:—

i. √*śad* and √*mṛ* take *ātm.* endings: *śīyate* (1.3.60); *mriyate* (1.3.61); but—*śatsyati*, *mariṣyati* (*ārdha.* pr).

ii. Roots ending in *e,o,ai,au* in the *upadeśa* change their final to *ā* before a *pratyaya* that does not have a mute *ś* at the beginning (cf. *śidādau pratyaye pratiṣdhaḥ*, *Kāśikā* on 6.1.45): *gātā, gāsyati, etc; but gāyati, glāyati*, etc. (because of the *vikaraṇa, śap*, which is *śit*). (6.1.45).

iii Roots *ṣṭhiv, klam*, and *ā* + *cam* lengthen their vowel: *ṣṭhīvyati, klāmyati, ācāmati;* √*kram* lengthens it in parasm. only; *krāmati* (7.3.75-76).

iv Roots *iṣ, gam*, and *yam* take the *ādeśa ch* (which in its turn takes the *āgama tuk* i.e. *t*, (changed to *c* according to 6.1. 73): *icchati, gacchati*, and *yacchati* (7.3.77).

v Roots *pā, ghrā, dhmā, sthā, mnā, dā, dṛś, ṛ, sṛ, śad* and *sad* are substituted by *pib, jighr, dham, tiṣṭh, man, yacch, paśy, ṛcch, dhāv, śīy* and *sīd* respectively: *pibati, dhamati*, etc. (7.3. 78).

vi √*jñā* and *Vjan* are substituted by *jā*: *jānāti, jāyate* (7.3. 79).

vii √*pū* and other roots (of class IX Nos. 12-32) shorten their vowel: *punāti, lunāti*, etc. (7.3.80)

viii √*mī* shortens its vowel in the Veda: *pramiṇāti* (7.3.81)

ix √*mīd* takes *guṇa*: *medyati* (7.3.82).

One more purpose served by mute *ś* is the framing of a *pratyāhāra*. With the mute *ś* at the end of the tenth *Śiva-sūtra* we get as many as six *pratyāhāras*. They are : ***aś, jaś, jhaś, baś, vaś*** and ***haś.***

śit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order) :—

aś : *ād* : *a*
: for *idam* (from instr. sg. onwards) : *idam* + *smai* = *a* + *smai* = *asmai*, etc. (2.4.32)

iś : *ād* : *i*
: for *idam* (before some suffixes) : ***iha*** (5.3.3.)

īś : *ād* : *ī*
: for *idam* (before ***dṛś, dṛśa*** and ***vat***) : *īdṛk, īdṛśa and īvat* (6.3.90)

eś : *ād* : *e*
: for Pf. 3rd sg. ending (***ātm***) : ***pece*** (3.4.81)

auś : *ād* : *au*
: for *jas* (of nom. plr.) (after ***aṣṭan***) : *aṣṭau* (7.1.21)

khaś : *kṛt* : *a*
: see under *kh*

cānaś : *kṛt* : *āná*
: see under *c*.

śa : *vik* : *a*
: to roots of cl. VI : *tudati* (3.1.77).

: *kṛt* : *a*

: to roots *pā, ghrā, dhmā,* etc: *utpibaḥ, vijighraḥ, uddhamaḥ,* etc. (3.1.137)

śatṛ : *ād* : *at*

: for *laṭ* (*parasm*): *pacat* (3.2.124) etc.

śadhyai : *kṛt* : *adhyai*

: to roots: *pibadhyai* (3.4.9)

śadhyain : *kṛt* : —′ — *adhyai*

: see under *n*.

śap : *vik* : *a*

: to roots of cl.I: $\sqrt{}$*bhū* + *śap* +*ti* = *bhavati* (3.1.68)

: to roots of cl.II (dropped): $\sqrt{}$*ad* + *śap* + *ti* = *atti* (2.4.72).

: to roots of cl.III (*ślu*, dropped): $\sqrt{}$*hu* +*ślu* + *ti* = *juhu* + *ti* = *juhoti* (2.4.75).

śānac : *ād* : *āná*

: for *laṭ* (*ātm*): *pacamāna* (3.2.127) etc.

: for *hi* (of Impv.2nd sg.cl.IX): *muṣāṇa* (3.1.83)

śānan : *kṛt* : —′ — *āna*

: to $\sqrt{}$*pū* and $\sqrt{}$ *yaj*: *pávamāna, yájamāna* (3.2.128)

śāyac : *ād* : *āya*

: see under *c*

śi : *ād* : *i*
: for *jas, śas* (of nom. acc. plr. neut): *kundāni* (7.1.20)

śī : *ād* : *ī*
: for *jas* (of nom. plr. after pron): *te, ke, sarve* (7.1.17)
: for *au,* and *auṭ* (of nom. acc. du. fem.): *khaṭve* (7.1.18)
: for *au,* and *auṭ* (of nom. acc. du. neut): *madhunī* (7.1.19)

śe : *ād* : *e*
: for *ṅe* (of dat. sg. after *asmad,* and *yuṣmad*): *asme, yuṣme* (7.1.39)

śyan : *vik* : —′ — *ya*
: to roots of cl.IV: *dīvyati* (3.1.69)

śnā : *vik* : *nā*
: to roots of cl.IX: *krīṇāti* (3.1.81)

śnam : *vik* : *na*
: to roots of cl.VII: *ruṇaddhi* (3.1.78)

śnu : *vik* : *nu*
: to roots of cl.V: *sunoti* (3.1.73)

ślu : *ād* : *o*
: for *śap* after roots of cl. III: *juhoti* (2.4.75)

ṣ

Mute ṣ has been used as *anubandha* with roots, as also with *kṛt* and *taddhita pratyayas*. With roots it always stands at the end; while with *pratyayas* it is always placed at the beginning as required by *ṣaḥ pratyayasya* (1.3.6).

Besides the actually *ṣit* roots, there are about a dozen roots that do not have a mute ṣ attached to them, and are yet to be considered to be *ṣit* for all practical purposes. They are *ghaṭ, vyath, prath* etc. all belonging to the first conjugation.

Among the *ṣit pratyayas* three, namely *ṣākan*, *ṣṭran* and *ṣvun*, are *kṛt* and have a mute *n* as a second *anubandha* at the end.

The rest are all *taddhita pratyayas* (including two namely *ṣa* and *ṣac* which are *samāsānta*). All these (excepting only two, namely *ṣac* and *ṣpha*) have a second *anubandha* appended at the end. The letters used as the second *anubandha* are *k*, *ṅ*, c, *ñ*, *n* and *l*. All these with the exception of *ṅ* serve to indicate accentuation in addition to certain other modifications in some cases; and *ṅ* also has its own purposes to serve. All these have been explained and illustrated in their proper places. The letters *ṭha, pha* and *vu* have been used in four *pratyayas*; and they have to be substituted by *ika, āyana*, and *aka* respectively in obedience to 7.1.1 and 2.

The presence of mute ṣ in the case of roots (and its supposed presence in the case of √*ghaṭ* and other roots, noticed above) indicates that such roots take the suffix *aṅ* (fem.*ā*) to form abstract nouns. Thus *jṝṣ* (√*jṝ*)--*jarā; trapūṣ* (√*trap*)– *trapā; ghaṭa* (√*ghaṭ*)- *ghaṭā*; *tvara* (√*tvar*)- *ivarā; vyatha* (√*vyath*)—*vyathā* (3.3.104).

In the case of (*kṛt, taddhita,* and *samāsānta*) *pratyayas,* the presence of a mute *ṣ* indicates that the formations in such suffixes will form their feminine by adding *ṅīṣ* (*ī*). (4.4.41): *nartaka* (*nṛt*+*ṣvun*) — *nartakī* (3.1.145); *gārgyāyaṇa* (*garga* + *yañ* = *gārgya* + *āyana* i.e. *ṣpha*)— *gārgyāyaṇī* (4.1.17): *vatsatara* (*vatsa* + *ṣṭarac*)- *vatsatarī* (5.3.91).

In the case of the fem. suffix *ṅīṣ* mute *ṣ* has a twofold purpose to serve. This *ṣ* distinguishes *ṅīṣ* from the other two feminine suffixes, namely *ṅīp* and *ṅīn*. But the more important (and perhaps the only real) purpose served by it is to enable the term *ṅī* to cover all the three fem. suffixes, namely *ṅīn, ṅīp* and *ṅīṣ*. In the absence of mute *ṣ*, this would have been impossible according to the *paribhāṣā*: *tadanubandhakasya grahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya grahaṇam* (*Pbh* 83). Mute *ṅ* in such cases is useful for framing a *sāmānyasaṁjñā* (a common designation, in this case it is *ṅī*), while the final *anubandha* letters, namely *n* and *p* serve to distinguish accentuation. Hence the *Kāśikā* remarks *svare viśeṣaḥ* (4.1.60): and *ṅakāraḥ sāmānyagrahaṇārthaḥ, ṣakāraḥ sāmānyagrahaṇāvighātārthaḥ* (4.1.5). In the *Śivasūtras* *ṣ* serves the formation of two *pratyāhāras* (*jhaṣ* and *bhaṣ cf.* 8.2.37).

Ṣit pratyayas etc. with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

ṅīṣ	: *strī*	: *ī*	: to *ṣit* formations, and several other words to form feminine: *nartaka*—*nartakī*; *gaura*—*gaurī* (4.1.41 etc.)
ṣa	: *sam*	: *a*	: to *mūrdhan* after *dvi* and *tri* in *Bah. Vr.*: *dvimūrdhaḥ* and *trimūrdhaḥ* (5.4.115)

ṣac : *sam* : *á*
: see under *c*.
ṣākan : *kṛt* : —′ — *āka*
: see under *n*
ṣkan : *tad* : —′ — *ka*
: see under *n*
ṣṭarac : *tad* : *tará*
: see under *c*
ṣṭran : *kṛt* : —′ — *tra*
: see under *n*
ṣṭhac : *tad* : *iká*
: see under *c*
ṣṭhan : *tad* : —′ — *ika* (or —′ — *ka*)
: see under *n*
ṣṭhal : *tad* : — —′ *ika*
: see under *l*
ṣpha : *āyana* (fem. ī)
: to several *yañanta* (and other) formations: *gārgyāyaṇī*, *lauhityāyanī*, etc (4.1.17 ff)
ṣphak : *tad* : ± — *āyaná* (fem. ī)
: to *kāpiśī*, *raṅku*, etc: *kāpiśayana*, *rāṅkavāyaṇa*, etc. (4.2.99 f).
ṣyaṅ : *tad* : *ya*
: see under *ṅ*
ṣyañ : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*
: see under *ñ*.
ṣlañ : *tad* : ±′ — *la*
: see under *ñ*
ṣvun : *kṛt* : —′ — *aka*
: see under *n*

s

Mute *s* has been used as *anubandha* only singly without any other vowel or consonant attached to it; and is always placed at the end. It is found in only four *pratyayas* which are all *taddhita*. In two of these, P has used the letters *gha* and *cha,* which (as they stand at the beginning of a *pratyaya*) are to be substituted by *iya* and *īya* respectively in obedience to 7.1.2.

The presence of mute *s* in a *pratyaya* indicates that the stems to which such a suffix is added should be considered to be a *pada* (1.4.16). This, in other words, means that all the *kāryas* (modifications etc) that have been enjoined by P with reference to a *pada* should be performed in their case also. As a general rule the nominal base to which a suffix beginning with a vowel or *y* is applied is technically named *bha* (1.4.18); and a *bha* generally drops its *ṭi* (i.e. the last of its vowels together with the following consonant or consonants if any, 1.1.64) (7.1.88). Before a *sit pratyaya,* however, the base is not to be considered to be *bha;* and hence the *ṭi* of such a base is not dropped. On the other hand, it is considered to be a *pada* and as such is subjected to the general rules of external (i.e. *pada*) *sandhi* like any other *pada* (i.e. a *subanta* or a *tiṅanta* formation). Thus, *ṛtu* + *iya* (*ghas,* 5.1.106) = *ṛtviya* (acc. to 6.1.77); *bhavat* + *īya* (*chas,* 4.2.115) = *bhavadīya* (acc. to 8.4.53); *śam* + *ya* (*yas,* 5.2.138) = *śaṁya* (acc. to 8.3.23): *śam* + *yu* (*yus,* 5.2.138) = *śaṁyu* (acc. to 8.3.23). So also *ahaṁyu* and *śubhaṁyu* (5.2.140).

Sit pratyayas with illustrations and references (arranged in the alphabetical order):—

ghas : *tad* : *iya*

: to *ṛtu* in the Veda: *ṛtviya* (5.1.106) *chas* : *tad* : *īya*

: to *bhavat*: *bhavadīya* (4.2.115)

yas : *tad* : *ya*

: to *kam* and *śam*: *kaṁya, śaṁya* (5.2.138)

yus : *tad* : *yu*

: to *ūrṇā*: *ūrṇāyu* (5.2.123); and also to *kam, śam, aham,* and *śubham*: *kaṁyu, śaṁyu, ahaṁyu,* and *śubhaṁyu* (5.2.138; 140)

PART III

INDEXES

III

INDEX A

Index of *pratyayas* etc. together with their *anubandhas* as used by Pāṇini.

ak	*prat*	*a, i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ* short, long and prolated	6.1.101;128.
akaṅ	*ād*	*ak*	4.1.97.
akac	*tad*	*ak*	5.3.71 fg.
aṅ	*ād*	— = ***a***	3.1.52 fgg.
	vik	— = ***a***	3.1.86
	kṛt	— = *a* (f.*ā*)	3.3.104 fgg.
ac	*prat*	vowel	1.2.27;3.2; etc.
	kṛt	*á* (f.*ā*)	3.1.134, etc.
	tad	*á* (f.*ā*)	5.2.127
	sam	*á*	5.4.75 fgg.
añ	*tad*	±′ — *a*	4.1.86 etc.
aṭ	*prat*	vowels, semi-vowels and *h*	8.3.3; etc.
	āg	*a*	6.1.136; etc.
	āg	*a*	3.4.94; etc.
aṭhac	*tad*	*aṭhá*	5.2.35.
aḍac	*tad*	*aḍá*	5.3.80.

aṇ	*prat*	*a, i, u* short, long and prolated	6.3.111.
	prat	vowels, semi vowels and *h*	1.1.69
	ḳṛt	— ± *a* (f.ī)	3.2.1; etc.
	tad	± — *a*	4.1.83 fgg; etc.
at	*saṁ*	*a* (short)	1.1.70
	tad	*à*	5.3.12 fg; etc.
	ād	*a*	3.4.106
atasuc	*tad*	*atás*	5.3.28 fg.
atu	ending *at* of *ḳtavatu, matup*, etc.		6.4.14
atṛn	*ḳṛt*	—′ — *at*	3.2.104
athuc	*ḳṛt*	*athú*	3.3.89
aduḳ	*āg*	*ad*	6.3.76
adhyain	*ḳṛt*	—′ — *adhyai*	3.4.9
an	*ād*	*a*	5.3.5
	tad	—′ — *a*	5.3.48 fgg.
anaṅ	*ād*	*an*	7.1.75 fg; etc.
	sam	*an*	5.4.131 fgg.
anic	*sam*	*án*	5.4.124 fgg.
anīyar	*ḳṛt*	*aníya*	3.1.96.

ap	: *kṛt*	: *a*	: 3.3.57 fgg.
	: *sam*	: *a*	: 5.4.116 fg.
am	: *prat*	: vowels, semivowels, nasals and *h*	: 8.3.6
	: *āg*	: *a*	: 6.1.58 fg; 7.1.99
amu	: *tad*	: *am*	: 5.4.12
ayaṅ	: *ād*	: *ay*	: 7.4.22
ayac	: *tad*	: *ayá*	: 5.2.43
	: *tad*	: *áya*	: 5.2.44
al	: *prat*	: all letters of the *devanāgarī* alphabet	: 1.1.52
avaṅ	: *ād*	: *ava*	: 6.1.123
		: *av*	: 6.1.76 fg.
aś	: *prat*	: vowels, semivowels and soft consonants	: 8.3.17
	: *ād*	: *a*	: 2.4.32 fg.
	: *ād*	: *a*	: 7.1.27
asi	: *tad*	: *as*	: 5.3.39
asic	: *sam*	: *ás*	: 5.4.122 fgg.
asuk	: *āg*	: *as*	: 7.1.50 fg.
asuṅ	: *ād*	: *as*	: 7.1.89

asen : *kṛt* : —′ — *ase* : 3.4.9

astāti : *tad* : *astāt* : 5.3.27

ākinic : *tad* : *ākin* : 5.3.52

āṅ : *nipāta* : *ā* : 1.3.20; etc.

: *sup* : *ā* : 6.4.141

āc : *tad* : *ā́* : 5.3.36 fgg.

āṭ : *āg* : *ā́* : 6.4.72

: *āg* : *ā* : 3.4.92; 94

: *āg* : *ā* : 7.3.112

āṭac : *tad* : *āṭá* : 5.2.125

āt : *saṁ* : *ā* : 1.1.1; etc.

āti : *tad* : *āt* : 5.3.34 fg.

āduk : *āg* : *ād* : 6.3.76

ānaṅ : *ād* : *ān* : 6.3.25 fg.

ānuk : *āg* : *ān* : 4.1.49

āp : *strī* : see *cāp*, *ṭāp*, *ḍāp* : 4.1.1; etc.

: *prat* : All case-endings from instr. sg. up to loc. plr. (both included) : 7.2.112

ām : *āg* : *ā́* : 7.1.98

amu : *tad* : *ām* : 5.4.11 fg.

ārak	*tad*	± — *ārá*	4.1.130
āl	*ād*	— —′ *ā*	7.1.39
ālac	*tad*	*ālá*	5.2.125
āluc	*kṛt*	*ālú*	3.2.158
ik	*prat*	*i, u, ṛ, ḷ* short and long.	1.1.3. etc.
ic	*prat*	all vowels except *a* and *ā*	6.1.104; 3.68
	sam	*í*	5.4.127 fg.
iñ	*kṛt*	—′ ± *i*	3.3.110
	tad	±′ — *i*	4.1.95 fgg.
iṭ	*tiṅ*	*i*	3.4.78
	āg	*i*	7.2.35 fgg.
	āg	*i*	7.2.76 fgg.
	āg	*i*	5.1.23
iṇ	*prat*	all vowels except a, ā, semi vowels and *h*	8.3.39; etc.
it	*saṁ*	*i* (short)	1.1.70
	sam	*i*	5.4.135 fgg.
itac	*tad*	*itá*	5.2.36
ithuk	*āg*	*ith*	5.2.53
in	*kṛt*	—′ — *i*	3.2.24 fgg.
inaṅ	*ād*	*in*	4.1.126 fg.
inac	*tad*	*iná*	5.2.33

ini	*kṛt*	*in*	3.2.33; 156 fgg.
	tad	*in*	4.2.11; etc.
inuṇ	*kṛt*	— ± *in*	3.3.44
im	*āg*	**i**	7.3.92
imanic	*tad*	*imán*	5.1.122 fg.
iyaṅ	*ād*	*iya*	1.4.4;6.4.77 fgg.
irec	*ād*	*iré*	3.4.81;6.4.76
ilac	*tad*	*ilá*	3.2.99 fg. etc.
iś	*ād*	*i*	5.3.3
iṣṭhan	*tad*	—′ — *iṣṭha*	5.3.55 etc.
iṣṇuc	*kṛt*	*iṣṇú*	3.2.136 fgg.
īkak	*tad*	± — *īká*	4.4.59; 5.3.110
īkan	*tad*	—′ — *īka*	5.1.33
īṭ	*āg*	**ī**	7.3.93 fgg; 8.2.28
īt	*saṁ*	ī (long)	1.1.11 etc.
īyaṅ	*rfs*	— = *īya*	3.1.29;32
īyasun	*tad*	—′ — *īyas*	5.3.37 fgg.
īrac	*tad*	*īrá*	5.2.111
īran	*tad*	—′ — *īra*	5.2.111
īś	*ād*	**ī**	6.3.90
uk	*prat*	u, r, ḷ (short	
		and long)	7.2.11; etc.
ukañ	*kṛt*	—′ ± uka	3.2.154
	tad	±′ — *uka*	5.1.103

uñ	*nipāta*	*u*	8.3.21;1.1.17 fg.
uṇ	*kṛt* (*uṇādi*)	— ± *u*	3.3.1 fg.;3.4.75
ut	*saṁ*	*u* (short)	1.1.70
um	*āg*	*u*	7.4.20
urac	*tad*	*urá*	5.2.106
uvaṅ	*ād*	*uv*	1.4.4; 6.4.77 fg.
ūṅ	*strī*	*ū*	4.1.66 fgg;6.1.175; etc.
ūt	*saṁ*	*ū* (long)	1.1.11 fg. etc.
ṛt	*saṁ*	*ṛ* (short)	1.1.70; etc.
ṝt	*saṁ*	*ṝ* (long)	3.3.57; etc.
ḷt	*saṁ*	*ḷ* (short)	3.1.55
eṅ	*prat*	e and *o*	1.1.2
ec	*prat*	*e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*	1.1.48
et	*saṁ*	*e*	8.3.99; 1.1.11; etc.
edhāc	*tad*	*edhā*	5.3.46
enap	*tad*	*ena*	5.3.35
eś	*ād*	*e*	3.4.81
aic	*prat*	*ai*, *au*	7.3.3
airak	*tad*	± — *airá*	4.1.128
ot	*saṁ*	*o*	1.1.15 fg; etc.
auṅ	*sup*	*au*	7.1.18 fg.
auṭ	*sup*	*au*	4.1.2

aut : *ād* : **au** : 7.1.84

: *ād* : **au** : 7.3.118 fg.

auś : *ād* : **au** : 7.1.21

ka : *kṛt* : — = *a* : 3.1.135 fgg; etc.

kak : *tad* : ± — ***ká*** : 4.2.80; 4.21

kañ : *kṛt* : —′ = *a* (f.ī) : 3.2.60; 4.1.15

kaṭac : *tad* : ***kaṭá*** : 5.2.29 fg.

kaṭyac : *tad* : ***kaṭyá*** : 4.2.51

kadhyai : *kṛt* : — = *adhyai* : 3.4.9

kadhyain : *kṛt* : —′ = *adhyai* : 3.4.9

kan : *tad* : —′ — *ka* : 4.2.131; etc.

kap : *kṛt* : — = ***a*** : 3.2.70

: *sam* : *ka* : 5.4.151 fgg; etc.

kamul : *kṛt* : — =′ ***am*** : 3.4.12

kalpap : *tad* : ***kalpa*** : 5.3.67; etc.

kasun : *kṛt* : —′ = ***as*** : 3.4.17

kasen : *kṛt* : —′ = ***ase*** : 3.4.9

kānac : *kṛt* : — = ***āná*** : 3.2.106

kāmayac : *rfs* : *kāmyá* : 3.1.9; etc.

ki : *kṛt* : — = ***i*** : 3.2.171; 3.92 fg.

kin : *kṛt* : —′ = *i* : 3.2.171

ku : *saṁ* : *k*, *kh*, **g**, *gh*, and *ṅ* : 1.1.69; etc.

kuk : *āg* : ***k*** : 4.1.158;2.91; etc.

kuṭārac	*tad*	*kuṭārá*	5.2.30
kuṇap	*tad*	*kuṇa*	5.2.24
kurac	*kṛt*	— = *urá*	3.2.162
kṛtvasuc	*tad*	*kṛtvás*	5.4.17;20. etc.
ken	*kṛt*	—′ = *e*	3.4.14
kenya	*kṛt*	— = *enya*	3.4.14
kta	*kṛt*	— = *ta*	1.1.26; etc.
ktavatu	*kṛt*	— = *tavat*	1.1.26; etc.
ktic	*kṛt*	— = *tí*	3.3.174
ktin	*kṛt*	—′ = *ti*	3.3.94 fg.
ktri	*kṛt*	— = *tri*	3.3.88
ktvā	*kṛt*	— = *tvā*	1.1.40; 2.7 fg; etc.
knu	*kṛt*	— = *nu*	3.2.140
kmarac	*kṛt*	— = *mará*	3.2.160
kyaṅ	*rfs*	— = *ya*	3.1.11 fg; etc.
kyac	*rfs*	— = *yá*	3.1.8;10; etc.
kyap	*rfs*	— = *ya*	3.1.106; etc.
	kṛt	— = *yá*	3.3.98 fgg.
kyaṣ	*kṛt*	— = *ya*	3.1.13
kru	*kṛt*	— = *ru*	3.2.174
klukan	*kṛt*	—′ = *luka*	3.2.174
kvanip	*kṛt*	— = *van*	3.2.74 fg; 94 fgg.
kvarap	*kṛt*	— = *vara*(f.ī)	3.2.163 fg; 4.1.15
kvasu	*kṛt*	— = *vas*	3.2.107 fgg

ķvi	*ķṛt*	=*ķvin*, *ķvip*	3.2.134.
ķvin	*ķṛt*	—′ = *v* (=o,acc.6.1.67)	3.2.58; etc.
ķvip	*ķṛt*	— = *v* (=o,acc.6.1.67)	3.2.61; etc.
ķsa	*ād*	— = ***sa***	3.1.45 fgg; 7.3. 72;73
ķse	***ķṛt***	— = *se*	3.4.9
ķsnu	***ķṛt***	— = *snu* **(the mute letter here is g, which is** changed to k)	3.2.139
ķhac	*ķṛt*	***á***	3.2.38 fgg.
ķhañ	*tad*	±′ — *īna*	4.1.141; etc.
ķhamuñ	*ķṛt*	—′ ± *am*	3.4.25
ķhay	***prat***	hard class-consonants	7.4.61; etc.
ķhar	*prat*	hard consonants	8.3.15; 4.55
ķhal	*ķṛt*	— —′ *a*	3.3.126 fg.
ķhaś	*ķṛt*	*a*	3.2.28 fgg;83
ķhiṣṇuc	ķṛt	iṣṇú	3.2.57
ķhuķañ	ķṛt	—′ ± uķa	3.2.57
ķhyun	*ķṛt*	—′ — *ana*	3.2.56
gmini	*tad*	*gmin*	5.2.124

gha	*kṛt*	*a*	3.3.118 fg; 125; etc.
	tad	*iya*	4.1.138; tc.
ghac	*tad*	*iyá*	4.4.117
ghañ	*kṛt*	—′ ± *a*	3.3.16 fgg; etc.
ghan	*tad*	—′ — *iya*	4.2.26; etc.
ghas	*tad*	*iya*	5.1.106
ghinuṇ	*kṛt*	— ± *in*	3.2.141 fgg.
ghurac	*kṛt*	*urá*	3.2.161
ṅam	*prat*	*ṅ*, *ṇ* and *n*	8.3.32
ṅamuṭ	*āg*	*ṅ*,*ṇ*,*n*	8.3.32
ṅas	*sup*	*as*	4.1.2; etc.
ṅasi	*sup*	*as*	4.1.2; etc.
ṅi	*sup*	*i*	4.1.2; etc.
ṅī	=*ṅīn*, *ṅīp*, and *ṅīṣ*		4.1.1; etc.
ṅīn	*strī*	—′ — *ī*	4.1.73
ṅīp	*strī*	*ī*	4.1.5 fgg.
ṅīṣ	*strī*	*ī*	4.1.25;40 fgg; etc.
ṅe	*sup*	*e*	4.1.2; etc.
ṅvanip	*kṛt*	— = *van*	3.2.103
caṅ	*vik*	— = *á*	3.1.48 fgg
caṇ	*nipāta*	*ca*	8.1.30
caṇap	*tad*	*caṇa*	5.2.26

car	: *prat*	: *k,c,ṭ,t,p,ś,* ṣ and s	: 1.1.58
caraṭ	: *tad*	: *cara* (f.ī)	: 5.3.53 fg.
cānaś	: *kṛt*	: *aná*	: 3.2.129
cāp	: *strī*	: *ā*	: 4.1.74 fg.
ciṇ	: *vik*	: — ± *í*	: 3.1.60 fgg.
cu	: *saṁ*	: letters of the *cavarga*	: 1.1.69
cuñcup	: *tad*	: *cuñcu*	: 5.2.26
cphañ	: *tad*	: ± — *āyaná*	: 4.1.98
cli	: *vik*	: *li*	: 3.1.44 fgg.
cvi	: *tad*	: *v* (=o,acc.6.1.67) :	: 1.4.61; etc.
chaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *īya*	: 4.1.132;134; etc.
chav	: *prat*	: *c,ch,ṭ,ṭh,t,* and *th*	: 8.3.7
chas	: *tad*	: *īya*	: 4.2.115
jaś	: *prat*	: *j,b,g,ḍ,* and *d*	: 1.1.58; etc.
jas, jasi	: *sup*	: *as*	: 4.1.2;31;etc.
jātīyar	: *tad*	: *jātīya*	: 5.3.69
jāhac	: *tad*	: *jāhá*	: 5.2.24
juk	: *āg*	: *j*	: 7.3.38
jus	: *ād*	: *us*	: 3.4.108 fgg.

jhay : *prat* : all class letters except nasals : 5.4.111; etc.

jhar : *prat* : *jhay*(q.v.) +*ś*,*ṣ*, and *s* : 8.4.65

jhal : *prat* : *jhar*(q.v.) + *h* : 1.2.9; etc.

jhaś : *prat* : *g*,*gh*,*j*,*jh*,*ḍ*, *ḍh*,*d*,*dh*,*b*,*bh* : 8.4.53

jhaṣ : *prat* : *jh*,*bh*,*gh*,*ḍh*, *dh* : 8.2.37;40

ña : *tad* : ±′ — *a* (f.ā) : 4.2.58; etc.

ñiṭha : *tad* : ±′ — *ika* (or ±′ — *ka*) : 4.2.116 fgg.

ñya : *tad* : ±′ — *ya* : 4.2.80; etc.

ñyaṅ : *tad* : ±′ — *ya*(f *á*) : 4.1.171

ñyaṭ : *tad* : ±′ —*ya*(f.ī) : 5.3.114

ñyuṭ : *kṛt* : —′ ± *ana*(f.ī) : 3.2.65 fg.

ṭa : *kṛt* : *a*(f.ī) : 3.2.16 fg.

: *tad* : = *ṭac* : 6.4.145

ṭak : *kṛt* : — = *a* (f.ī) : 3.2.8;52 fgg.

ṭac : *sam* : *á* (f.ī) : 5.4.91 fg.

ṭā : *sup* : *ā* : 4.1.2; etc.

ṭāp : *strī* : *ā* : 4.1.4;9

ṭiṭhan : *tad* : —′ — *ika* (f.ī) : 4.4.67;5.1.25

ṭīṭac : *tad* : *īṭa* : 5.2.31

ṭu	: *saṁ*	: *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh,* and *ṇ*	: 1.1.69
ṭuk	: *āg*	: *ṭ*	: 8.3.28
ṭeṇyaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *eṇya* (f.ī)	: 5.3.115
ṭyaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *ya* (f.ī)	: 4.2.30
ṭyu	: *tad*	: *ana* (f.ī)	: 4.3.23 fg.
ṭyul	: *tad*	: — —′ *ana* (f.ī)	: 4.3.23 fg.
ṭhak	: *tad*	: ± — *iká* (or ± — *ká*)	: 4.1.146 fgg.
ṭhac	: *tad*	: *iká* (or *ká*)	: 4.2.80; etc.
ṭhañ	: *tad*	: ±′ — *ika* (or ±′ — *ka*)	: 4.2.35; etc.
ṭhan	: *tad*	: —′ — *ika* (or : —′ — *ka*)	: 4.4.7;13 fg; etc.
ṭhap	: *tad*	: *ika*	: 4.3.26
ḍa	: *kṛt*	: *a*	: 3.2.48 fgg; 97 fgg.
	: *tad*	: *a*	: 5.2.45 fg.
ḍac	: *sam*	: *á*	: 5.4.73
ḍaṭ	: *tad*	: *a* (f.ī)	: 5.2.48;51 fgg.
ḍaṇ	: *tad*	: ± — *a*	: 5.1.62
ḍatamac	: *tad*	: *atamá*	: 5.3.93 fg.
ḍatarac	: *tad*	: *atará*	: 5.3.92;94
ḍati	: *tad*	: *ati*	: 5.2.41
ḍā	: *ād*	: *ā*	: 2.4.85
	: *ād*	: *ā*	: 7.1.89

ḍāc : *tad* : *ā* : 5.4.57 fgg.
ḍāp : *strī* : *ā* : 4.1.13
ḍu : *kṛt* : *u* : 3.2.180
ḍupac : *tad* : *upá* : 5.3.89
ḍmatup : *tad* : *mat* : 4.2.87
ḍya : *tad* : *ya* : 4.2.9;4.113
ḍyaṇ : *tad* : ± — *ya* : 4.4.111
ḍyat : *tad* : *yà* : 4.2.9; 4.113
ḍyā : *ād* : *yā* : 7.1.39
ḍvalac : *tad* : *valá* : 4.2.88
ḍvun : *tad* : —′ = *aka* : 5.1.24
ḍhak : *tad* : ±′ — *eyá* : 4.1.119 fgg; etc.
ḍhakañ : *tad* : ±′ — *eyaka* : 4.1.140;2.95 fg.
ḍhañ : *tad* : ±′ — *eya* : 4.1.135 fg; etc.
ḍhinuk : *tad* : ± — *eyín* : 4.3.109
ḍhrak : *tad* : — — *erá* : 4.1.129;131
ṇa : *tad* : ± — *a* (f.*ā*) : 4.1.147;150; etc.
ṇac : *kṛt* : — ± *á* : 3.3.43
ṇamul : *kṛt* : — ±′ *am* : 3.4.12;22 fgg; etc.
ṇal : *ād* : — ±′ *a* (or — —′ *a*) : 3.4.82;7.1.91; etc.
ṇi : *rfs* : — ± *i* : 1.4.52; etc.
ṇiṅ : *rfs* : — ± *i* : 3.1.32
ṇic : *rfs* : — ± *í* : 3.1.32
ṇin : *kṛt* : *ṇini* (q.v.) : 6.2.79

ṇini	*ḳṛt*	— ± *in*	3.1.134; etc.
	tad	± — *in*	4.3.103 fgg;110
ṇya	*ḳṛt*	*ṇyat* (q.v.)	7.3.65
	tad	± — *ya*	4.1.85;151 fg,etc.
ṇyat	*ḳṛt*	— ± *yà*	3.1.120;122 fgg.
	tad	± — *yà*	5.1.83 fg.
ṇyuṭ	*ḳṛt*	— ± *ana*(f.*ī*)	3.1.147 fg.
ṇvi	*ḳṛt*	— ± *v* (= o, acc 6.1.67)	3.2.62 fgg.
ṇvin	*ḳṛt*	—′ ±*v*(=*o*, acc. 6.1.67)	3.2.71 fg.
ṇvuc	*ḳṛt*	— ± *aḳá*	3.3.111
ṇvul	*ḳṛt*	— ±′ *aḳa*	3.1.133;3.10; etc.
taṅ	*prat*	Personal endings of *ātm*	1.4.100
	ād	— = *ta*	6.3.133
tanap	*ād*	*tana*	7.1.45
tap	*ād*	*ta*	7.1.45
tamaṭ	*tad*	*tama* (f.*ī*)	5.2.56 fg.
tamap	*tad*	*tama*	5.3.55 fg.
tayap	*tad*	*taya* (f.*ī*)	5.2.42
tarap	*tad*	*tara*	5.3.57
tal	*tad*	— —′ *ta*(f.*tā*)	4.2.42;5.1.119 fgg; 4.27
taveṅ	*ḳṛt*	— = *tave*	3.4.9

taven	*kṛt*	—′ — *tave*	3.4.9
tavyat	*kṛt*	*tavyà*	3.1.96
tasi	*tad*	*tas*	4.3.113 fg; 5.4.44 fgg.
tasil	*tad*	— —′ *tas*	5.3.7 fgg.
tātaṅ	*ād*	— = *tāt*	7.1.35
tātil	*tad*	— —′ *tāti*	4.4.142 fgg;5.4.41
tāsi	*vik*	*tās*	3.1.33
tikan	*tad*	—′ — *tika*(f.*ā*)	5.4.39
tiṅ	*prat*	personal endings	1.1.71
tithuk	*āg*	*tith*	5.2.52
tip	*tiṅ*	*ti*	3.4.78
til	*tad*	— —′ *ti*	5.4.41
tu	*saṁ*	*t, th, d, dh, n*	1.1.69
tuk	*āg*	*t*	6.1.71;73 fgg; etc.
tuṭ	*āg*	*t*	4.3.15;23 fg.
tumun	*kṛt*	—′ — *tum*	3.3.10; etc.
tṛ	*ād*	*t*	6.4.127 fg.
tṛc	*kṛt*	*tṛ′*	3.3.169
tṛn	*kṛt*	—′ — *tṛ*	3.2.135
tosun	*kṛt*	—′ — *tos*	3.4.16
tyak	*tad*	± — *tyá*	4.2.98
tyakan	*tad*	—′ — *tyaka*	5.2.34

tyap	*tad*	*tya*	4.2.104 fg.
tran	*uṇ*	—′ — *tra*	6.4.67
tral	*tad*	— —′ *tra*	5.3.10
tvan	*kṛt*	—′ — *tva*	3.4.14
thakan	*kṛt*	—′ — *thaka*	3.1.146
thaṭ	*tad*	*tha* (f.ī)	5.2.50
thamu	*tad*	*tham*	5.3.24 fg.
thal	*ād*	— —′ *tha*	3.4.82 fgg.
thāl	*tad*	— —′ *thā*	5.3.23; 111
thuk	*āg*	*th*	5.2.51;7.4.17
thyan	*tad*	—′ — *thya*	5.1.8
daghnac	*tad*	*daghná* (f.ī)	5.2.37 fg; 4.1.15.
duk	*āg*	*d*	6.3.99 fg.
deśīyar	*tad*	*deśīya*	5.3.67
dvayasac	*tad*	*dvayasá* (f.ī)	5.2.37 fg.
dhamuñ	*tad*	±′ — *dham*	5.3.45
dhuṭ	*āg*	*dh*	8.3.29 fg.
dhyamuñ	*tad*	± — *dhyam*	5.3.44
naṅ	*kṛt*	— = *na*	3.3.90
najiṅ	*kṛt*	— = *naj*	3.2.172
nañ	*nipāta*	*na*	5.2.27; etc.
	tad	±′ — *na*	4.1.87
nan	*kṛt*	—′ — *na*	3.3.91
nāñ	*tad*	±′ — *nā*	5.2.27

nāṭac : *tad* : *nāṭá* : 5.2.31
niṅ : *ād* : *ni* : 5.4.134
nīk : *āg* : *nī* : 7.4.84
nuk : *āg* : *n* : 4.1.32; etc.
nuṭ : *āg* : *n* : 7.1.54 fg, etc
num : *āg* : *n* : 7.1.58 fgg; etc.
pāśap : *tad* : *pāśa* : 5.3.47
piṭac : *tad* : *piṭá* : 5.2.33
pu : *saṁ* : *p, ph, b, bh* and *m* : 1.1.69
puk : *āg* : *p* : 7.3.36;86
pum : *āg* : *p* : 7.4.19
phak : *tad* : ± — *āyaná* : 4.1.99 fgg; etc.
phañ : *tad* : ±′ — *āyana* : 4.1.110 fg.
phiñ : *tad* : —′ — *āyani* : 4.1.150; 154 fgg; etc.
phin : *tad* : —′ —*āvani* : 4.1.160
baś : *prat* : *b. g, ḍ, d* : 8.2.37 fg.
bahuc : *tad* : *bahu* — —′ : 5.3.68
biḍac : *tad* : *biḍá* : 5.2.32
birīsac : *tad* : *birīsá* : 5.2.32
bhaktal : *tad* : — —′ *bhakta* : 4.2.54
bhaṣ : *prat* : *bh, gh, ḍh, dh* : 8.2.37 fg.
bhraṭac : *tad* : *bhraṭá* : 5.2.31

maṭ	*tad*	*ma* (f.ī)	5.2.49
matup	*tad*	*mat*	4.2.85 fg.
manin	*kṛt*	—′ — *man*	3.2.74 fg.
map	*tad*	*ma*	4.4.20
may	*prat*	all class letters except *ñ*	8.3.33
mayaṭ	*tad*	*maya* (f.ī)	4.3.82; etc.
maś	*ād*	*m*	7.1.40
mahiṅ	*tiṅ*	*mahi*	3.4.78
māṅ	*nipāta*	*mā*	3.3.175; etc.
mātrac	*tad*	*mātrá* (fem.ī)	5.2.37 fg
mip	*tiṅ*	*mi*	3.4.78
muk	*āg*	*m*	7.2.82
mum	*āg*	*m*	6.3.67;70 fgg.
yak	*āg*	*ya*	7.1.47
	rfs	— = *ya*	3.1.27
	kṛt	— = *ya*	3.1.67
	vik	— = *ya*	3.1.87 fg.
	tad	± — *yá*	4.3.94;5.1.128
yaṅ	*rfs*	— = *ya*	3.1.22 fgg.
	tad	*ya* = *ñyaṅ*, *ṣyaṅ* (f.*á*)	4.1.74
yaṅluk	*rfs*	— = *ya* (dropped)	2.4.74; etc.

yañ	*prat*	semivowels, nasals, *jh* & *bh*	7.3.101 fg.
	tad	±′ — *ya*	4.1.105 fgg; etc.
yaṇ	*prat*	semivowels	6.4.156; etc.
yat	*kṛt*	*yà*	3.1.97 fgg; etc.
	tad	*yà*	4.1.137; etc.
yan	*tad*	—′ — *ya*	4.2.42;4.114
yap	*tad*	*ya*	5.1.82 fg;2.120
yam	*prat*	semivowels and nasals	8.4.64
yay	*prat*	all class-letters and semivowels	8.4.58 fg.
yar	*prat*	all consonants except *h*	8.4.45 fgg.
yal	*tad*	— —′ *ya*	4.4.131
yas	*tad*	*ya*	5.2.138
yāc	*ād*	*yá*	7.1.39
yāṭ	*āg*	*yā*	7.3.113
yāsuṭ	*āg*	*yā́s*	3.4.103
yiṭ	*āg*	*y*	6.4.159
yuk	*āg*	*y*	7.3.33;37.
yuc	*kṛt*	*aná*	3.2.148; etc.
yuṭ	*āg*	*y*	6.4.63
yus	*tad*	*yu*	5.2.123;138;140

ram	*āg*	*r*	6.4.47
ral	*prat*	all consonants except *y and v*	1.2.26
rik	*āg*	*ri*	7.4.91 fg.
riṅ	*ād*	*ri*	7.4.28
rīk	*āg*	*rī*	7.4.90;92
rīṅ	*ād*	*rī*	7.4.27
ru	*saṁ*	*r* (substituted for a final *s*)	8.2.66 fgg.
ruk	*āg*	*r*	7.4.91 fg.
ruṭ	*āg*	*r*	7.1.6 fgg.
rūpap	*tad*	*rūpa*	5.3.66
rhil	*tad*	— —' *rhi*	5.3.16;20 fg.
laṅ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical ending of Impf.	6.4.71 ; etc.
lac	*tad*	*lá*	5.2.96 fgg.
laṭ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical ending of Pr.	3.4.83 fg.
liṅ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Potential and Precative ending	3.4.105 fg.
liṭ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Perfect ending	3.4.115 ; etc.
luk	dropping of a suffix	*o*	1.1.61 ; etc.
	āg	*l*	7.3.39

luṅ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Aorist ending	3.1.43; etc.
luṭ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Peri. Future ending	3.1.33
lup	dropping of a suffix	*o*	1.1.61; etc.
lṛṅ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Conditional ending	6.4.71 fg.
lṛṭ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Future ending	3.2.112 fgg.
leṭ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Subjunctive ending	3.4.94 fgg.
loṭ	*tiṅ*	Theoretical Imperative ending	3.3.8
lyap	*ād*	— =′ *ya*	7.1.37
lyu	*kṛt*	——′ *ana*	3.1.134
lyuṭ	*kṛt*	— —′ *ana*(f.ī)	3.3.113;115 fgg.
va	*kṛt*	*v*(=*o* acc. 6.1.67)	6.2.52; etc.
vati	*tad*	*vat*	5.1.18;115 fgg.
vatup	*tad*	*vat*	5.2.39
vanip	*kṛt*	*van*	3.2.74 fg.
varac	*kṛt*	*vará*	3.2.175 fg.

val	: *prat*	: all consonants except *y*	: 6.1.66;7.2.35
vàlac	: *tad*	: *valá*	: 4.2.89;5.2.112 fgg.
vaś	: *prat*	: last three consonants of each class and *v*, *r*,*l*	: 7.2.8
vasu	: *kṛt*	= *kvasu* (q.v.)	: 7.1.36; etc.
vic	: *kṛt*	: v (= *o*, acc. 6.1.67)	: 3.2.73 fg.
viṭ	: *kṛt*	: v (= *o*, acc. 6.1.67)	: 3.2.67 fgg.
vidhal	: *tad*	: — —′ *vidha*	: 4.2.54
vini	: *tad*	: *vin*	: 5.2.102;121 fg.
vuk	: *āg*	: *v*	: 4.1.2; 125;6.4.88
	: *tad*	: ± — *aká*	: 4.2.103
vuc	: *tad*	: *aká*	: 5.3.80
vuñ	: *kṛt*	: —′ ± *aka*	: 3.2.146 fg.
	: *tad*	: ±′ — *aka*	: 4.2.39 fg; etc.
vun	: *kṛt*	: —′ — *aka*	: 3.1.149 fg.
	: *tad*	: —′ — *aka*	: 4.2.61 ; etc.
vyat	: *tad*	: *vyà*	: 4.1.144
vyan	: *tad*	: —′ — *vya*	: 4.1.145
śa	: *vik*	: *a*	: 3.1.77
	: *kṛt*	: *a*	:3.1.137 fgg;3.100 fg
śaṅkaṭac	: *kṛt*	: *śaṅkaṭá*	: 5.2.28
śatṛ	: *kṛt*	: *at*	: 3.2.127; etc.

śadhyai	*kṛt*	*adhyai*	3.4.9
śadhyain	*kṛt*	—′ — *adhyai*	3.4.9
śap	*vik*	***a***	3.1.88
śar	*prat*	*ś,ṣ* and *s*	7.4.61; etc.
śal	*prat*	*ś,ṣ,s* and *h*	3.1.45
śas	**sup**	***as***	4.1.2; etc.
śānac	*ād*	***āná***	3.1.83
	kṛt	*āná*	3.2.127
śānan	*kṛt*	—′ —*āna*	3.2.128
śāyac	*ād*	*āyá*	3.1.84
śālac	*tad*	*śālá*	5.2.28
śi	*ād*	*i*	7.1.20
śī	*ād*	***ī***	7.1.17
śe	*ād*	***e***	7.1.39
śnam	*vik*	***na***	3.1.78
śnā	*vik*	*nā*	3.1.81 fg.
śnu	*vik*	***nu***	3.1.73 fgg.
śyan	*vik*	—′ — *ya*	3.1.69 fgg.
ślu	*vik*	***o***	1.1.61
ṣa	*sam*	*a* (f.ī)	5.4.115
ṣac	*sam*	*á*(f.ī́)	5.4.113 fg.
ṣan	=*san*(*q.v.*)		8.3.61
ṣākan	*kṛt*	—′ — *āka*(f.ī́)	3.2.155

ṣuk	: *āg*	: *ṣ*	: 4.1.161;3.188; 7.3.40
ṣkan	: *tad*	: —′ — *ka* (f.ī)	: 5.1.75
ṣṭarac	: *tad*	: *tará* (f.ī)	: 5.3.90 fg.
ṣṭran	: *kr̥t*	: —′ — *tra* (f.ī)	: 3.2.181 fgg.
ṣṭhac	: *tad*	: *iká* (f.ī)	: 4.4.31
ṣṭhan	: *tad*	: —′ — *ika* (or : —′ — *ka*) (f.ī)	: 4.3.70;etc.
ṣṭhal	: *tad*	: — —′ *ika*	: 4.4.9;74
ṣphak	: *tad*	: ± — *ayaná* (f.ī)	: 4.2.99 fg.
ṣyaṅ	: *ād*	: *ya* (f.ā́)	: 4.1.78 fgg.
ṣyañ	: *tad*	: ±′ — *ya*(*f*.ī)	: 5.1.123 fg.
ṣlañ	: *tad*	: ±′ — *la*(*f*.ī)	: 4.3.142
ṣvun	: *kr̥t*	: —′ — *aka*(*f*.ī)	: 3.1.145
sak	: *āg*	: *s*	: 7.2.73
san	: *rfs*	: —′ — *sa*	: 3.1.5 fgg.
sāti	: *tad*	: *sāt*	: 5.4.52 fgg.
sic	: *ād*	: *s*	: 3.1.44
sip	: *tiṅ*	: *si*	: 3.4.78
	: *vik*	: *s*	: 3.1.34
sīyuṭ	: *āg*	: *sīy*	: 3.4.102
su	: *sup*	: *s*	: 4.1.2; etc.
suc	: *tad*	: *s*	: 5.4.18 fg.

suñ	*nipāta*	*su*	6.3.133;8.3.107
suṭ	*prat*	the first five case endings	1.1.71
	āg	*s*	3.4.107; etc.
sup	*prat*	all case endings	1.1.71; etc.
	sup	*su*	4.1.2;8.3.16
sen	*kṛt*	—′ — *se*	3.4.9
snañ	*tad*	± — *sna*	4.1.87
syāṭ	*āg*	*syā*	7.3.114 fg.
hal	*prat*	all consonants	6.4.2; etc.
haś	*prat*	The last three consonants of all classes, semivowels, and *h*	6.1.114

INDEX B

Pratyayas etc. mentioned by Pāṇini without any *anubandhas*.

a	: *ād*	: 3.4.82
	: *kṛt* (fem. *ā*)	: 3.3.102 fg
	: *tad* (fem.*ā*)	: 4.3.9.;31
	: *sam*	: 5.4.74
aka	: *kṛt* (f.*ikā*)	: 2.2.15 fg; 3.70; etc.
at	: *ād*	: 7.1.25 fg.
	: *ād*	: 7.1.31 fg.
atas	= *atasuc*	: 2.3.30
atus	: *ād*	: 3.4.82 fg.
atha	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi* 3.116), 6.2.144.
athus	: *ād*	: 3.4.82 fg.
addhyai	: *kṛt*	: 3.4.9
an	: *ād*	: 5.3.5
ani	: *kṛt*	: 3.3.112
anta	: *ād*	: 7.1.3
	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi* 3.128), 6.4.55
abhyam	: *ād*	: 7.1.30

am	: *ād*	: 3.4.91
	: *ād*	: 2.4.83 fg.
	: *āg*	: 6.3.68
	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.101; 7.1.40
	: *sup*	: 4.1.2
	: *sup*	: 7.1.24
	: *sup*	: 7.1.28
	: *kṛt*	: 2.2.20 fg.
ay	: *ād*	: 6.4.55.
ase	: *kṛt*	: 3.4.9
astāt	: *tad*	: 5.3.27; 40 fg.
ā	: *sup*	: 7.1.29
ākam	: *sup*	: 7.1.33
āt	: *ād*	: 7.1.39.
	: *ād*	: 7.1.12
ātām	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78
āthām	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78
āna	: *kṛt*	: 1.4.100; 7.2.82
āni	: *tiṅ*	: 8.4.16
ām	: *ād*	: 3.4.90
	: *āg*	: 2.4.81 fg.
	: *sup*	: 4.1.2; 7.1.54 etc.
	: *sup*	: 7.3.116 fg.
āya	: *rfs*	: 3.1.28; 31;32
āyya	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi* 3.96);6.4.55
āru	: *kṛt*	: 3.2.173

ālu	= *āluc*	: 6.4.55
āhi	: *tad*	: 5.3.37 fg; 2.3.29
ika	: *ending*	: 4.3.133.
itnu	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi itnuc* 3.29) 6.4.55
itra	: *kṛt*	: 3.2.184 fgg; 6. 2.144
in	: *ending*	: 6.4.12 fg; 164 fgg.
	= *ini*	: 2.3.70; 6.3.19
ina	: *ād*	: 7.1.12
iman	= *imanic*	: 6.4.154
iya (= *iy*)	: *ād*	: 7.2.80
ire	= *irec*	: 6.4.76
ila	: *tad*	: 4.2.80
iv	: *ending*	: 7.2.49
iṣṭha	= *iṣṭhan*	: 6.4.154; 159
iṣṇu	= *iṣṇuc, khiṣṇuc*	: 6.4.55
is	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi isi* 2.109) 6.4.97
	: *ād*	: 7.4.54
īyas	= *īyasun*	: 5.4.156; 6.4.154; 160
u	: *vik*	: 3.1.79; 80; etc.
	: *kṛt*	: 3.2.168 fgg; 2.3. 69
uka	: *kṛt* = *ukañ*	: 2.3.69; 6.2.110

us	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.82 fg; 6.1.96
ūka	: *kṛt*	: 3.2.165 fg.
eṇya	: *tad*	: 4.3.17
ai	: *ād*	: 3.4.93; 95 f.
ais	: *ād*	: 7.1.9 fg
os	: *sup*	: 4.1.2; 7.3.104 fg
au	: *tiṅ*	: 7.1.34
	: *sup*	: 4.1.2
ka	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi* 3.43); 7.2.9
	: *tad*	: 4.2.80; 5.3.70 fgg; 4.28
	: *tad*	: 7.4.13
kalpa	= *kalpap*	: 6.3.43
kī	: *ād*	: 6.3.90
kṛtvas	= *kṛtvasuc*	: 2.3.64; 8.3.43
kya	= *kyac, kyaṅ, kyaṣ*	: 1.4.15; 6.4.50; 152; 3.2.170
kha (= *īna*)	: *tad*	: 4.1.139 fg; 2.93.3; 3.64 etc.
gha (= *iya*)	: *tad*	: 4.1.138; 2.27; 29; etc.
	: *ād*	: 5.2.40 fg.
gha	: *saṁ*	: 1.1.22; 6.3.43
ṅam	= *ṅamuṭ*	: 8.3.32
cha (=*īya*)	: *tad*	: 4.1.143 fg; etc.
jātīya	: *tad*	: 6.3.42; etc.

jha (=*anta*)	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78
jhi (=*anti*)	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78
ñi	: *syll*	: 1.3.5
ṭu	: *syll*	: 1.3.5
ṭha (= *ika*)	: *tad*	5.3.83
ḍatama	= *ḍatamac*	: 5.3.93 fg
ḍatara	= *ḍatarac*	: 5.3.92;94.
ḍu	: *syll*	: 1.3.5
ḍha (=*eya*)	: *tad*	: 4.4.106; 5.3.102; etc.
ta	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78; 81;2.4.79
	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.101; 7.1.44 fg.
	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi* 3.82); 7.2.9
	: *tad*	: 5.2.138
tana	: *ād*	: 7.1.45
	: *tad*	: 6.3.17
tam	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.101
taya	= *tayap*	: 1.1.33; 5.2.43
tavai	: *kṛt*	: 3.4.9; 14; 6.1.200; 2.51
tavya	: *kṛt*	: 3.1.96
tas	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78
	: *tad*	: 2.4.33; 3.4.61
tāt	: *ād*	: 7.1.44

tām	*ād*	3.4.101
tās	*vik*	3.1.33
ti	*syll*	5.1.22; etc.
	tiṅ (≃ *tip*)	6.1.68
	kṛt (= *ktic*, *ktin*)	7.2.9
	tad	4.1.77; 5.2.25; 138
tīya	*tad*	5.2.54 fg; 3.48
tu	*uṇ*	(*uṇādi* 1.65); 6.2.50; 7.2.9
	tad	5.2.138
	tiṅ	3.4.86
tum	= *tumun*	2.3.15; 3.4.9
tṛ	*kṛt* (= *tṛc*, *tṛn*)	5.3.59; 6.4.154
tra	*kṛt*	7.2.9
	tad	4.2.51
	(= *tral*)	2.4.33; 6.3.133
trā	*tad*	5.4.55 fg
tri	(= *ktri*)	4.4.20
tva	*tad*	5.1.119 fgg; 136
tha	*tiṅ*	3.4.78; 101 etc.
	uṇ	(*uṇādi* 5.27); 6.2.144; 7.2.9.
thana	*ād*	7.1.45
thas	*tiṅ*	3.4.78; 191; etc.
thā	*tad*	5.3.26
thās	*tiṅ*	3.4.78; 80: 2.4.79

dā : *tad* : 5.3.15;19 fgg
dānīm : *tad* : 5.3.18 fg
deśīya = *deśīyar* : 6.3.42
deśya : *tad* : 5.3.67
dhā : *tad* : 5.3.42 fgg; 4.20; 3.4.62
dhi : *ād* : 6.4.101 fg.
dhvam : *tiṅ* : 3.4.78
dhvāt : *ād* : 7.1.42
dhve : *tiṅ* : 3.4.79; 7.2.78
nā : *tad* : 5.2.27
: ±′ — *nā* : 3.4.62
nām : *sup* : 7.1.54 fgg; 6.4.3 fgg; 1.177 fg
ni : *tiṅ* : 3.4.89
pha (= *āyana*) : *tad* : 7.1.2 etc.
phi = *phin* : 4.1.149
ba : *tad* : 5.2.138
bha : *tad* : 5.2.138 fg.
bhis : *sup* : 4.1.2; 7.1.9 fgg
bhyas : *sup* : 4.1.2; 7.1.30
bhyām : *sup* : 4.1.2
ma : *ād* : 3.4.82 fg.
: *tad* : 4.3.8; 5.2.108

mat	= *matup*	: 5.3.65
man	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇādi* 4.144) ; 6.4.97
maya	= *mayaṭ*	: 4.4.138
mas	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78; 7.1.46
masi	: *ād*	: 7.1.46
mi	= *mip*	: 3.4.89
ya	: *tad*	: 4.2.49 fg; 80;94; etc.
	: *sup*	: 7.1.13
yà	: *tad*	: 6.3.87 fg.
yā	: *syll* (of *yāsuṭ*)	: 7.2.80
	: *sup*	: 7.1.39
yu (= ana)	: *tad*	: 7.1.1
	: *kṛt*	: 7.1.1
	: *kṛt*	: 2.4.57
ra	: *kṛt*	: 3.2.167
	: *tad*	: 4.2.80; 5.2.107;
	: *tiṅ*	3.38
ran	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.105
ras	: *tiṅ*	: 2.4.35
ru	: *kṛt*	: 3.2.159
rūpa	= *rūpap*	: 6.3.43
rūpya	: *tad*	: 4.3.81 ; 5.3.54
re	: *ād*	: 6.4.76
rau	: *tiṅ*	: 2.4.85

li	= *cli*, *lit* and *liṅ*	: 2.4.80 fg.
lṛ	= *lṛṅ*, *lṛṭ*	: 3.1.83
va	: *tad* : *ād*	: 5.2.109 fg. : 3.4.82 fg.
vatu	= *vatup*	: 1.1.23; etc.
van	: *kṛt*(=*vanip*)	: 6.4.41; 4.1.7
vaya	: *tad*	: 4.3.162
vara	= *varac*	: 1.1.58
vala	= *valac*	: 6.3.118
vas	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78; 82
vahi	: *tiṅ*	: 3.4.78
vi	: *uṇ*	: 7.3.85 (*uṇādi* 4. 54)
vi	= *vi* of *kvin* etc.	
vin	= *vini*	: 5.3.65
vu (= *aka*)	: *tad* : *kṛt*	: 7.1.1 : 7.1.1
śa	: *tad*	: 5.2.100
śas	: *tad*	: 5.4.42 fg; 6.3.55
śna	= *śnam*	: 6.4.23
ṣīdhvam	: *tiṅ*	: 8.3.78 fg.
ṣpha (=*āyana*)	: *tad*	: 4.1.17 fgg.
sa	: *uṇ* : *tad*	: 7.2.9 (*uṇādi* 3.62) : 4.2.80; 5.4.40
sara	: *uṇ*	: 7.2.9 (*uṇādi* 3.70)

sāt	*tad*	8.3.111
sām	*sup*	7.1.33; 52.
si	*tiṅ* (= *sip*)	3.4.87; 6.1.68
	uṇ	7.2.9 (*uṇādi* 3.155)
su	*sup*	6.1.168
	uṇ	7.2.9 (*uṇādi* 3.157)
se	*kṛt*	3.4.9
	tiṅ	3.4.80; 7.2.77 fg.
sna	*tad*	5.4.40
smāt	*sup*	7.1.15 fg.
smin	*sup*	7.1.15 fg.
smai	*sup*	7.1.14
sya	*vik*	3.1.33; 7.2.70; etc.
	sup	7.1.12
sva	*tiṅ*	3.4.91; 7.2.77 fg; etc.
ha	*tad*	5.3.11;13
hi	*tiṅ*	3.4.87;88; etc.

INDEX C

THE REVERSE INDEX

o : vik : śap (luk)

o : vik : śap (ślu)
: rfs : yaṅluk
: kṛt : vic, viṭ

— ± o : kṛt : ṇvi

— = o : kṛt : kvi, kvip

—′ ± o : kṛt : ṇvin

—′ = o : kṛt : kvin

a : vik : śa
: tiṅ : at
: kṛt : khaś, gha, ṭa, ḍa, śa
: tad : ḍa, ḍaṭ
: sam : ṣa
: ād : an

á : kṛt : ac, khac
: tad : ac
: sam : ṭac, ḍac, ṣac

à : tad : at

a : vik : śap
: kṛt : ap
: sam : ap

— ± a	kṛt	aṇ, ṇa
— = a	vik	aṅ
— = a	kṛt	ka, ṭak
— —′ a	kṛt	khal
— ±′ a	ād (tiṅ)	ṇal
± — a	tad	aṇ, ḍaṇ, ṇa
—′ — a	tad	an
—′ ± a	kṛt	ghañ
—′ = a	kṛt	kañ
±′ — a	tad	añ, ña
— ± á	kṛt	ṇac
— = á	vik	caṅ
— = a	kṛt	kap
a	kṛt	a
	tad	a
	sam	a
ak —′	tad	akac
aká	tad	vuc
— ±′ aka	kṛt	ṇvul
—′ ± aka	kṛt	vuñ
—′ — aka	kṛt	vun, ṣvun
	tad	ḍvun, vun
±′ — aka	tad	vuñ
— ± aká	kṛt	ṇvuc

± — aká : *tad* : *vuk*

aka : *kṛt* : *aka*
aṭhá : *tad* : *aṭhac*
aḍá : *tad* : *aḍac*
at : *kṛt* : *śatṛ*

—′ — at : *kṛt* : *atṛn*
at : *ād* : *at*
: *ād* (*sup*) : *at*
ata : *tiṅ* : *jha*
atamá : *tad* : *ḍatamac*
atará : *tad* : *ḍatarac*
atás : *tad* : *atasuc*
ati : *tiṅ* : *jhi*
ati : *tad* : *ḍati*
atus : *ād* : *atus*
atha : *uṇ* : (*uṇ*. 3.116) *athan*
athú : *kṛt* : *athuc*
athus : *ād* : *athus*
adhyai : *kṛt* : *śadhyai*

-- = adhyai : *kṛt* : *kadhyai*
—′ = adhyai : *kṛt* : *kadhyain*
—′ — adhyai : *kṛt* : *adhyain*
—′ — adhyai : *kṛt* : *śadhyain*
adhyai : *kṛt* : *adhyai*
án : *sam* : *anic*
an : *ād* : *an*
ana : *kṛt* : *yu*
: *tad* : *ṭyu*
aná : *kṛt* : *yuc*

— ± *ana*	: *kṛt*	: *ṇyuṭ*
— —′ *ana*	: *kṛt*	: *lyu, lyuṭ*
	: *tad*	: *ṭyul*
—′ ± *ana*	: *kṛt*	: *ñyuṭ*
—′ — *ana*	: *kṛt*	: *khyun*
ani	: *kṛt*	: *ani*
anīya	: *kṛt*	: *anīyar.*
anta	: *tiṅ*	: *jha*
	: *uṇ*	: *jha*
anti	: *tiṅ*	: *jhi*
abhyam	: *ād*	: *abhyam*
am	: *tad*	: *amu*
am	: *ād*	: *am*
	: *ād*	: *am*
	: *āg*	: *am*
	: *tiṅ*	: *am*
	: *sup*	: *am*
	: *sup*	: *am*
	: *sup*	: *am*
— ±′ *am*	: *kṛt*	: *ṇamul*
— =′ *am*	: *kṛt*	: *kamul*
—′ ± *am*	: *kṛt*	: *khamuñ*
ayá	: *tad*	: *ayac*
as	: *tad*	: *asi*

: *sup* : *ṅas*

: *sup* : *ṅasi*

: *sup* : *jas, jasi*

: *sup* : *śas*

ás : *sam* : *asic*

—′ = as : *kṛt* : *kasun*

—′ = ase : *kṛt* : *kasen.*

—′ — ase : *kṛt* : *asen.*

ase : *kṛt* : *ase*

astāt : *tad* : *astāti.*

astāt : *tad* : *astat*

ā : *sup* : *āṅ, ṭā*

ā́ : *tad* : *āc, ḍāc*

ā́ : *strī* : *cāp.*

ā : *strī* : *āp, ṭāp, ḍāp*

— —′ ā : *ād* : *āl*

ā : *sup* : *ā*

—′ — āka : *kṛt* : *ṣākan*

ākam : *sup* : *ākam*

ākín : *tad* : *ākinic*

āṭá : *tad* : *āṭac*

āt : *tad* : *āti*

āt : *sup* : *āt*

ātām : *tiṅ* : *ātām*

āthām : *tiṅ* : *āthām*

āná : *kṛt* : *cānaś, śānac*

—′ — āna	: kṛt	: śānan
— = aná	: kṛt	: kānac
āna	: kṛt	: āna
āni	: tiṅ	: āni
ām	: sup	: ām
	: sup	: ām
	: kṛt	: ām
ām	: tad	: āmu
	: ād	: ām
āya	: rfs	: āya
āyá	: ād	: śāyac
āyana	: tad	: ṣpha
±′ — āyana	: tad	: phañ
± — āyaná	: tad	: cphañ, phak, ṣphak
—′ — āyani	: tad	: phin
±′ — āyani	: tad	: phiñ
āyya	: uṇ (uṇ.3.96)	: āyya
± — ārá	: tad	: ārak
āru	: kṛt	: āru
ālá	: tad	: ālac
ālú	: kṛt	: āluc
āhi	: tad	: āhi
i	: tiṅ	: iṭ
	: sup	: ṅi

i : sup : śi
: sam : it
í : sam : ic
— ± i : rfs : ṇi; ṇiṅ; ṇic
— = i : kṛt : ki
—′ ± i : kṛt : iñ
—′ = i : kṛt : kin
±′ — i : tad : iñ
— ± í : vik : ciṇ
iká : tad : ṭhac, ṣṭhac
ika : tad : ṭhap.
— —′ ika : tad : ṣṭhal
—′ — ika : tad : ṭiṭhan, ṭhan, ṣṭhan
±′ — ika : tad : ñiṭha, ṭhañ
± — iká : tad : ṭhak
ika : end : ika
itá : tad : itac
itnú : uṇ (uṇ.3.29) : itnuc
itra : kṛt : itra
in : kṛt : ini
: tad : ini
— ± in : kṛt : inuṇ, ghinuṇ ṇini

± — *in* : *tad* : *ṇini*

ina : *ād* : *ina*

iná : *tad* : *inac*

imán : *tad* : *imanic*

iya : *tad* : *gha, ghas*

iyá : *tad* : ***ghac***

—′ — *iya* : *tad* : *ghan*

iré : ***ād*** : *irec*

ilá : *tad* : *ilac*

—′ — *iṣṭha* : *tad* : *iṣṭhan*

iṣṇú : *kṛt* : *iṣṇuc, khiṣṇuc*

is : *uṇ* (*uṇ* 2.109) : *isi*

ī : *sup* : ***śī***

: *strī* : ***ṅī***

ī́ : *strī* : ***ṅīṣ***

ī́ : (with √*kṛ* etc.) : *cvi*

ī : *strī* : *ṅīp*

—′ — ***ī*** : *strī* : *ṅīn*

—′ — *īka* : *tad* : *īkan*

± — *īká* : *tad* : *īkak*

īna : *tad* : *kha*

±′ — *īna* · *tad* : *khañ*

īya : *tad* : *cha, chas*

— = *īya* : *rfs* : *īyaṅ*

± — *īya* : *tad* : *chaṇ*

—' — *īyas* : *tad* : *īyasun*

irá : *tad* : *īrac*

—' — *īra* : *tad* : *īran*

u : *kṛt* : *ḍu*

— ± *u* : *kṛt* : *uṇ*

u : *kṛt* : *u*

: *vik* : *u*

—' ± *uka* : *kṛt* : *ukañ, khukañ*

±' — *uka* : *tad* : *ukañ*

upá : *tad* : *ḍupac*

urá : *kṛt* : *ghurac*

: *tad* : *urac*

— = *urá* : *kṛt* : *kurac*

us : *tiṅ* : *jus*

us : *tiṅ* : *us*

ū : *strī* : *ūṅ*

ū́ : (with √*kṛ* etc.) : *cvi*

ū́ : *sup* : *ū*

ūka : *kṛt* : *ūka*

e : *sup* : *ṅe*

: *sup* : *śe*

—' = *e* : *kṛt* : *ken*

± — *eṇya* : *tad* : *ṭeṇyaṇ*

eṇya : *tad* : *eṇya*

edhā́ : *tad* : *edhāc*

ena : *tad* : *enap*

— ∓ *enya* : *kṛt* : *kenya*

eya : *tad* : *ḍha*

±′ — *eya* : *tad* : *ḍhañ*

± — *eyá* : *tad* : *ḍhak*, *ḍhrak*

±′ — *eyaka* : *tad* : *ḍhakañ*

± — *eyín* : *tad* : *ḍhinuk*

ai : *ād* : *ai*

± — *airá* : *tad* : *airak*

ais : *ād* : *ais*

os : *sup* : *os*

au : *sup* : *aut*

au : *sup* : *auṅ*

: *sup* : *auṭ*

au : *tiṅ* : *au*

: *sup* : *au*

: *ād* : *au*

ká : *tad* : *ṭhac*

ka : *sam* : *kap*

—′ — *ka* : *tad* : *kan*, *ṭhan*, *ṣkan*, *ṣṭhan*

± — *ḳá* : *tad* : *ḳaḳ; thaḳ*
± — *ḳá* : *tad* : *ḳaḳ, ṭhaḳ*
—′ — *ḳa* : *uṇ* : *ḳan* (*uṇ*. 3.43)
: *tad* : *ḳa*
: *tad* : *ḳa*
ḳaṭá : *tad* : *ḳaṭac*
ḳaṭyá : *tad* : *ḳaṭyac*
ḳalpa : *tad* : *ḳalpap*
ḳāmyá : *rfs* : *ḳāmyac*
ḳī : *ād* : *ḳī*
ḳuṭārá : *tad* : *ḳuṭārac*
ḳuṇa : *tad* : *ḳuṇap*
ḳṛtvás : *tad* : *ḳṛtvasuc*
ḳya = *ḳyac, ḳyaṅ, ḳyaṣ*
ḳha = *īna*
gmin (*min*) : *tad* : *gmini*
gh : *ad* : *gh*
: *tad* : *gh*
: *sam* : *gh*
= *iya*
ṅam = *ṅmuṭ*
caṇa : *tad* : *caṇap*
cara : *tad* : *caraṭ*

cuñcu	: *tad*	: *cuñcup*
cha	: *tad*	: *cha*
jātíya	: *tad*	: *jātīyar*
jātīya	: *tad*	: *jātīya*
jāhá	: ***tad***	: *jāhac*
ṭīṭá	: *tad*	: *ṭīṭac*
ḍatamá	: *tad*	: *ḍatamac*
ḍatará	: *tad*	: *ḍatarac*
ḍha	: *tad*	: *ḍha*
ta	: *tiṅ*	: *tap*
— = *ta*	: *tiṅ*	: *taṅ*
— = *ta*	: *ḳṛt*	: *ḳta*
ta	: *tiṅ*	: *ta*
	: *tiṅ*	: *ta*
—′ — *ta*	: *uṇ*	: *tan* (*uṇ*. 3.86)
	: *tad*	: *ta*
tana	: *ād*	: *tanap*
tana	: *tiṅ*	: *tana*
	: *tad*	: *tana*
tam	: *tiṅ*	: *tam*
tama	: *tad*	: *tamaṭ*
	: *tad*	: *tamap*
taya	: *tad*	: *tayap*
tará	: *tad*	: *ṣṭarac*
tara	: *tad*	: *tarap*

— = tavat : *kṛt* : *ktavatu*

— = tave : *kṛt* : *taveṅ*

—′ — tave : *kṛt* : *taven*

tavai : *kṛt* : *tavai*

tavyà : *kṛt* : *tavyat*

tavya : *kṛt* : *tavya*

tas : *tad* : *tasi*

— —′ tas : *tad* : *tasil*

tas : *tiṅ* : *tas*

: *tad* : *tas*

tā : *tiṅ* = *tāsi+ḍā*

— —′ tā : *tad* : *tal*

— = tāt : *ād* : *tātaṅ*

tāt : *ād* : *tāt*

— —′ tāti : *tad* : *tātil*

tām : *ād* : *tām*

tāras : *tiṅ* : *tasi+ras*

tārau : *tiṅ* : *tāsi+rau*

tās : *tiṅ* : *tās*

ti : *tiṅ* : *tip*

—′ = ti : *kṛt* : *ktin*

— —′ ti : *tad* : *til*

— = tí : *kṛt* : *ktic*

—′ — tika : *tad* : *tikan*

tīya : *tad* : *tīya*

—' — *tu* : *uṇ* (*uṇ*. 1.69) : *tun*
tu : *tad* : *tu*
—' — *tum* : *kṛt* : *tumun*
tṛ' : *kṛt* : *tṛc*
—' — *tṛ* : *kṛt* : *tṛn*
tṛ = *tṛc*, *tṛn*
—' — *tos* : *kṛt* : *tosun*
tya : *tad* : *tyap*
± — *tyá* : *tad* : *tyak*
—' — *tyaka* : *tad* : *tyakan*
— —' *tra* : *tad* : *tral*
—' — *tra* : *uṇ* : *tran*
tra : *kṛt* : *tra*
: *tad* : *tra*
trā : *tad* : *trā*
tri = *ktri*
trima = (*kṛt*) *ktri* + (*tad*) *map*
—' — *tva* : *kṛt* : *tvan*
tva : *tad* : *tva*
— = *tvā* : *kṛt* : *ktvā*
tha : *tad* : *thaṭ*
— —' *tha* : *ād* : *thal*
tha : *tiṅ* : *tha*
: *uṇ* (*uṇ*. 5.27) : *tha*

—' — *thaka* : *kṛt* : *thakan*
thana : *ād* : *thana*
tham : *tad* : *thamu*
thas : *tiṅ* : *thas*
— —' *thā* : *tad* : *thāl*
thā : *tad* : *thā*
thās : *tiṅ* : *thās*
—' — *thya* : *tad* : *thyan*
daghná : *tad* : *daghnac*
dā : *tad* : *dā*
dānīm : *tad* : *dānīm*
deśī́ya : *tad* : *deśī́yar*
deśya : *tad* : *deśya*
dvayasá : *tad* : *dvayasac*
±' — *dham* : *tad* : *dhamuñ*
dhā : *tad* : *dhā*
dhi : *ād* : *dhi*
±' — *dhyam* : *tad* : *dhyamuñ*
dhva : *saṁ* : *dhva*
dhvam : *tiṅ* : *dhvam*
dhvāt : *ād* : *dhvāt*
dhve : *tiṅ* : *dhve*
na : *vik* : *śnam*

— = na	: kṛt	: naṅ
—′ — na	: kṛt	: nan
±′ — na	: tad	: nañ
na	: tad	: na
— = naj	: kṛt	: najiṅ.
nā	: tad	: nā
nā	: vik	: śnā
±′ — nā	: tad	: nāñ
nāṭá	: tad	: nāṭac
nām	: sup	: nām
ni	: tiṅ	: ni
nu	: vik	: śnu
— = nu	: kṛt	: knu
pāśa	: tad	: pāśap
piṭá	: tad	: piṭac
pha	: tad	: pha
phi	= phin	
ba	: tad	: ba
bahu — —′	: tad	: bahuc
biḍá	: tad	: biḍac
birīsá	: tad	: birīsac
bha	: tad	: bha
-- —′ bhakta	: tad	: bhaktal
bhis	: sup	: bhis

bhyas : *sup* : *bhyas*
bhyām : *sup* : *bhyām*
bhraṭá : *tad* : *bhaṭac*
ma : *tad* : *maṭ*
ma : *tad* : *map*
ma : *ād* : *ma*
: *tad* : *ma*
mat : *tad* : *ḍmatup, matup*
—′— *man* : *kṛt* : *manin*
: *uṇ* : (*uṇ*. 4.144) *manin*
maya : *tad* : *mayaṭ*
— = *mará* : *kṛt* : *kmarac*
mas : *tiṅ* : *mas*
masi : *ād* : *masi*
mahi : *tiṅ* : *mahiṅ*
mātrá : *tad* : *mātrac*
mi : *tiṅ* : *mip*
min : *tad* : *gmin* (*gmini*)
ya : *tad* : *ḍya, yas, ṣyaṅ*
yà : *tad* : *ḍyat*
ya : *tad* : *yap*
—′— *ya* : *kṛt* : *yat*
: *tad* : *yat*

— = *ya*	: *rfs*	: *k̨y*, *k̨yaṅ*, *k̨yaṣ*, *yak̨*
— = *ya*	: *vik̨.Pass*	: *yak̨*
— = *ya*	: *rfs*	: *yaṅ*
— —′ *ya*	: *tad*	: *yal*
— =′ *ya*	: *k̨ṛt*	: *lyap*
—′ — *ya*	: *vik̨*	: *śyan*
—′ — *ya*	: *tad*	: *yan*
± — *ya*	: *tad*	: *ḍyaṇ*, *ṇya*
±′ — *ya*	: *tad*	: *ñya*, *ñyaṅ*, *ñ́yaṭ*, *yañ*, *ṣyañ*
— = *yá*	: *rfs*	: *k̨yac*
± — *yá*	: *tad*	: *yak̨*
— — *yà*	: *k̨ṛt*	: *yat*
	: *tad*	: *yat*
— ± *yà*	: *k̨ṛt*	: *ṇyat*
± — *yà*	: *tad*	: *ṇyat*
— = *ya*	: *k̨ṛt*	: *yap*
ya	: *k̨ṛt*	: *ya*
	: *tad*	: *ya*
	: *tad*	: *ya*
	: *sup*	: *ya*
yā	: *ād*	: *ḍyā*
yā́	: *ād*	: *yāc*

yā	: *syll*	: *yā* (of *yāsuṭ*)
	: *kṛt*	: *yā*
yu	: *tad*	: *yus*
ra	: *kṛt*	: *ra*
	: *tad*	: *ra*
ran	: *tiṅ*	: *ran*
ras	: *tiṅ*	; *ras*
— —' *ru*	: *kṛt*	: *kru*
ru	: *kṛt*	: *ru*
rūpa	: *tad*	: *rūpap*
rūpya	: *tad*	: *rūpya*
re	: *ād*	: *re*
rau	: *tiṅ*	: *rau*
— —' *rhi*	: *tad*	: *rhil*
lá	: *tad*	: *lac*
±' — *la*	: *tad*	: *ṣlañ*
li	= *cli*	
—' = '*luka*	: *kṛt*	: *klukan*
lṛ	= *lṛṅ*, *lṛṭ*.	
va	: *tad*	: *va*
	: *ād*	: *va*
vat	: *tad*	: *vati*
	: *tad*	: *vatup*

vatu	= vatup	
van	: kṛt	: vanip
— = van	: kṛt	: kvanip, ṅvanip.
van	: kṛt	: van
vaya	: tad	: vaya
— = vara	: kṛt	: kvarap
vará	: kṛt	: varac
valá	: tad	: ḍvalac, valac
— = vas	: kṛt	: kvasu
vas	: tiṅ	: vas
vahi	: tiṅ	: vahi
— —′ vidha	: tad	: vidhal
vi	: uṇ	: (uṇ. 4.54) vin, kvin
	= vi of kvin etc.	
vin	: tad	: vini
vu	: tad	: vu
	: kṛt	: vu
vyà	: tad	: vyat
—′ — vya	: tad	: vyan
śa	: tad	: śa
śaṅkaṭá	: tad	: śaṅkaṭac
śas	: tad	: śas
śālá	: tad	: śālac

śna (na)	= *śnam*	
ṣīdhvam	: *tiṅ*	: **ṣīdhvam**
ṣpha	: *tad*	: **ṣpha**
s	: *ād*	: **sic**
	: *kṛt*	: **sip**
	: **sup**	: **su**
	: *tad*	: **suc**
— = *sa*	: *ād*	: **ḳsa**
—′ — **sa**	: *rfs.*	: **san**
sa	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇ.* 3.62) **sa**
	: *tad*	: **sa**
sara	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇ.* 3.70) **sara**
sāt	: *tad*	: *sāti*
sām	: **sup**	: **sām**
si	: *tiṅ*	: *si* (=*sip*)
si	: *tiṅ*	: **sip**
	: *uṇ*	: (*uṇ.* 3.155) **ḳsi**
su	: *sup*	: **sup**
su	: **sup**	: **su**
	: *uṇ*	(*uṇ* 3.157) *ḳsu*
— = **se**	: *kṛt*	: **ḳse**
—′ — **se**	: *kṛt*	: **sen**
se	: *kṛt*	: **se**
	: *tiṅ*	: **se**
	: *tad*	: **se**

±' — *sna* : *tad* : *snañ*
— = *snu* : *ḳṛt* : *ḳsnu*
smāt : *sup* : *smāt*
smin : *sup* : *smin*
smai : *sup* : *smai*
sya : *sup* : *sya*
: *ḳṛt* : *sya*
sva : *tiṅ* : *sva*
ha : *tad* : *ha*
hi : *tiṅ* : *hi*

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